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A House Divided

Wittelsbach Confessional Court Cultures in the Holy Roman Empire, c. 1550-1650

Andrew L. Thomas

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A House Divided

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By

Andrew L. Thomas

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To Sarah, Hannah, Jon, and Rachel

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INTRODUCTION

"Sick, without land, without money, I can truly compare myself with Job, the man of sorrows."[1] In this quote Elector Karl Albrecht of Bavaria makes a comparison between his plight during the War of Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and the sufferings of the biblical Job. However, as the historian Ludwig Hüttl noted, a better comparison than Job would be with that of Frederick V of the Palatinate during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648): both Wittelsbach rulers lost their lands shortly after their attempts to challenge Habsburg supremacy over the crown of Bohemia in the early modern era. Indeed, both believed that their claims to the Bohemian crown were legitimate.[2] In order to understand the rationale behind these actions, one has to recognize the cultural values that influenced them.

This book examines the intersection between religious belief, dynastic ambitions, and late Renaissance patronage found in the court cultures of the main branches of Germany's most storied ruling house, the Wittelsbach dynasty. Through a comparative history of the two major branches of the Wittelsbach dynasty, this book addresses fundamental questions about the significance of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations on the Wittelsbach dynasty. It explores how dynastic self-perception in this era renewed late medieval dynastic ambitions. It also investigates how confessional identity influenced the development of distinctly confessional court and territorial cultures through late Renaissance court patronage.

In exploring the significance of confessional identity on Renaissance court culture in particular, this book answers the appeal made by the renowned court historian John Adamson for an interdisciplinary perspective on court culture.[3] Thus, this monograph has concentrated on

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[1] Karl Albrecht quoted in Ludwig Hüttl's "Die bayerische Erbansprüche auf Böhmen, Ungarn und Österreich," in *Die Böhmischen Länder zwischen Ost und West*, ed. Ferdinand Seibt, (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1983), 88 [original quote from Michael Doeberl, *Entwicklungsgeschichte Bayerns* II, Michael Doeberl (1912), 177]; all English translations are my own unless translator indicated.

[2] Ibid.

[3] John Adamson, "Introduction. The Making of the Ancien-Régime Court 1500–1700," in *The Princely Courts of Europe. Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime 1500–1750*, ed., id. (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999), 7–41, esp. 8–9.

three broad approaches to the primary sources relating to the confessionalization of Wittelsbach court cultures: first, an examination of dynastic ambitions reflected in the political testaments and correspondence between the Bavarian and Palatine branches of the Wittelsbach dynasty as well as with their cadet branches; second, a comparison of their patronage of humanist trained literati as educators for their children, as authors of mirror of prince literature, wedding and funeral sermons, dynastic histories, panegyrics, and devotional literature for the court; third, an investigation of ambassadorial reports, travel accounts, broadsheets, and memoirs, in order to understand how foreign contemporaries perceived the Wittelsbach courts.

Following Jeroen Duindam's lead, this monograph also takes a comparative approach to contending court cultures over an extended time frame in order to examine differences in court dynamics.[4] Concomitantly, it follows the *long durée* approach to historical causation found in *Princes and Princely Culture 1450–1650* edited by Martin Gosman, Alasdair MacDonald, and Arjo Vanderjagt.[5] It also reflects the importance that Heiko Oberman placed on the social history of ideas and the late medieval inheritance in shaping confessional identities.[6] Likewise, it recognizes the significance of Pierre Bourdieu's "cultural capital" in understanding the relationship between power and patronage for the Wittelsbachs' courts in their efforts to promote their confessionalized court agendas.[7] Also, it buttresses Wolfgang Weber's argument that the nexus between princely education, dynastic identity

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[4] Jeroen Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles: The Courts of Europe's Major Dynastic Rivals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[5] Martin Gosman, Alasdair MacDonald and Arjo Vanderjagt, eds., *Princes and Princely Culture 1450–1650* 2 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2005).

[6] Heiko Oberman, *The Two Reformations. The Journey from the Last Days to the New World*, ed. Donald Weinstein (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Thomas A. Brady jr., et al. eds., *The Work of Heiko A. Oberman. Papers from the Symposium on his Seventieth Birthday* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003); see also Heiko Oberman, "Die Gelehrten die Verkehrten: Popular Response to Learned Culture in the Renaissance and Reformation," in *Religion and Culture in the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. Steven Ozment (Kirksville: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1989), 43–62; reprinted in H. Oberman, *The Impact of the Reformation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 201–224; id., "The Shape of Late Medieval Thought: The Birthpangs of the Modern Era," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 64 (1973): 13–33.

[7] Pierre Bourdieu, "Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital," in *Soziale Ungleichheiten*, ed. Reinhard Kreckel 183–198 (Göttingen: Otto Schwartz, 1983), 83–198; an English translation is also available, see Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. Richardson (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 241–258.

and honor, and territorial security became an important catalyst for early modern state-building.[8] Furthermore, to a significant degree, it supports Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard's macro-historical model for interpreting early modern European history referred to as the "confessionalization" paradigm.

According to the "confessionalization" paradigm, the period in Europe from 1550 to 1650 was shaped by the process of confessionalization in which rulers created state churches and used the resources of the churches, such as schools and monasteries, in efforts to further increase their own control over their subjects as well as demonstrate their commitment to their respective faiths.[9] This monograph corroborates the confessionalization paradigm in regards to the *intent* of the rulers to create state churches, but it also underscores the limitations and mixed success of their efforts. Likewise, it recognizes the validity of Marc Forster and Lee Palmer Wandel's claim that religious reform in this era could also reflect grassroots movements that did not require "top-down" confessionalization.[10] As Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia has also demonstrated, confessionalization and popular culture were not mutually exclusive. His works have convincingly illustrated both the importance of the "common man" on creating a popular form of devotion in the late Middle Ages, as well as confessionalizing factors during

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[8] Wolfgang Weber, "Dynastiesicherung und Staatsbildung: Die Entfaltung des frühmodernen Fürstenstaats," in *Der Fürst: Ideen und Wirklichkeiten in der europäischen Geschichte*, ed. idem (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1998), 91–136; idem., "Honor, fama, gloria. Wahrnehmungen und Funktionszuschreibung der Ehre in der Herrschaftslehre des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Ehrkonzepte in der Frühen Neuzeit: Identitäten und Abgrenzungen*, eds., Sibylle Backmann, et al. (Berlin: Verlag GmbH, 1998), 70–98; idem., *Prudentia gubernatorial: Studien zur Herrschaftslehre in der deutschen politischen Wissenschaften des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1992).

[9] Heinz Schilling, *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society: Essays in German and Dutch History* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992); Wolfgang Reinhard, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State: A Reassessment," *The Catholic Historical Review* 75 (1989): 383–404; for an excellent overview of the strengths and weaknesses of the confessionalization paradigm, see also Thomas A. Brady, Jr. "Confessionalization—The Career of a Concept," in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700. Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan*, ed. John Headley, 1–20 (Aldershot, 2004).

[10] Marc Forster, "With and Without Confessionalization: Varieties of Early Modern German Catholicism." *Journal of Early Modern History* 1 (1997): 315–343; Lee Palmer Wandel, "Ranke Meets Gadamer: The Question of Agency in the Reformation," in *Politics and Reformations: Histories and Reformations. Essays in Honor of Thomas A. Brady, Jr.*, eds. Christopher Ocker, et al. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2007), 63–78.

the sixteenth century.[11] In fact, confessionalization was least successful in the regions where the majority of the populace did not share the same confessional vision with the Wittelsbach rulers. This book also adheres to Robert Bireley's approach of examining the diverse perspectives within confessionalizing agents themselves regarding the use of force and defining the proper relationship between church and state.[12] This monograph constitutes the only book-length treatise comparing the impact of confessionalization on both halves of the Wittelsbach dynasty.

John Adamson argues that the court most likely had more impact than any other single institution from 1500–1700 in areas dealing with political, religious, and cultural life. He reminds us that a court was not just a group of buildings, but a complex network of relationships connected with the sovereign's household. In turn this meant that the influences of the consorts, heirs, and important administrators were also significant in shaping the cultural landscape and qualifying the meaning of absolutism.[13] This treatise is the only work offering an extensive comparative treatment of the Wittelsbach courts and their impact on the confessionalization of Renaissance humanism. Furthermore, this is the only expansive examination of the critical role of Wittelsbach consorts in the confessionalization process.

This monograph contends that the Wittelsbachs were not simply shapers of confessional identities and cultures; they themselves were also shaped by prevailing ideas of rulership inherited from their late medieval and Renaissance past that had been transformed by the events of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations. Likewise, the Wittelsbachs were a dynasty—a ruling family—and as such, both gen-

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[11] Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, "Die Sakralisierung der Gesellschaft: Blutfrömmigkeit und Verehrung der Heiligen Familie vor der Reformation," in *Kommunalisierung und Christianisierung: Voraussetzungen und Folgen der Reformation 1400–1600*, eds. Peter Blickle and Johannes Kunisch (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1989), 57–75; see also id., *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550–1750* (London: Routledge, 1989).

[12] Robert Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: Kings, Courts, and Confessors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[13] Adamson, 7–8, 12; in this broader sense of the court, Norbert Elias's definition of the princely court as "the central organ of the entire state administration, the government" still has considerable validity, see Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. Edward Jepthcott (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 1. Nevertheless, the limits of court influence are well articulated in Jeroen Duindam's *Myths of Power: Norbert Elias and the Early Modern Court* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994).

ders played important parts in the development of confessional court cultures and territories that grew out of a family feud originating in the late Middle Ages. Also, the role of Wittelsbach patronage of the arts, education, and religious-political causes contributed significantly to the confessionalization of Renaissance humanism in this era. Their court cultures reflected the symbiotic relationship created between confessional identities and dynastic ambitions that played an important part in setting the stage for the Thirty Years' War. Wittelsbach court patronage served as both the critical link binding the countryside to the court, and the catalyst for the creation of confessional frontiers between the Palatine and Bavarian lands that predated the Thirty Years' War. Furthermore, the marriage alliances along religious lines deepened the divide between the major Bavarian and Palatine branches of the Wittelsbach dynasty, and these marital alliances contributed significantly to the development of the Thirty Years' War.

The first major battle of the Thirty Years' War, the Battle of White Mountain (1620), was just as critical for the Bavarian Wittelsbachs' ability to claim dynastic leadership over their Palatine cousins as it was for the Austrian Habsburgs to secure greater control over the Bohemian crown lands. The battle also demonstrates how the Bavarian Wittelsbachs were able to benefit from their marital alliances with the Austrian Habsburgs and the Palatine cadet branch at Neuburg. The actions of the Palatine court following the Palatine defeat at White Mountain also reflect how the Palatine Wittelsbachs managed to continue their dynastic claims for the Palatinate throughout the Thirty Years' War, thanks to their marital ties with the houses of Orange and Stuart. Finally, the Wittelsbach dynastic disputes and related struggles during the Thirty Years' War marked the peak of confessionalized Renaissance humanism in the Empire as literati articulated Wittelsbach claims through various mediums to an international audience. Indeed, Wittelsbach influence on European affairs reached their apex in the confessional age and touched many shores from the 'coast' of Bohemia to Boston.

Several scholars have written important books about the confessionalization process on the Wittelsbachs, but they have concentrated on

either the Bavarian[14] or the Palatine branches.[15] These works by such fine scholars as Claus-Peter Clasen and Philip Soergel are outstanding for their insights of the inner dynamics of the Palatine and Bavarian confessional identities respectively. Volker Press, Dieter Albrecht, and Jürgen Steiner have addressed with acumen the dynastic motivation behind the Bavarian Wittelsbachs' obtaining the electoral title from their Palatine cousins.[16] There have also been a number of important monographs examining the conquest of the Palatinate and its confessional implications.[17] In his book on the Thirty Years' War, Ronald

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[14] Dieter Albrecht, *Maximilian I. von Bayern, 1573–1651* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1998); Philip Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Kurt Malisch, *Katholischer Absolutismus als Staatsräson: ein Beitrag zur politischen Theorie Kurfürst Maximilians I. von Bayern* (Munich: R. Wölfle, 1981); Michael Kaiser, *Politik und Kriegführung: Maximilian von Bayern, Tilly und die Katholische Liga im Dreissigjährigen Krieg* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1999); Andreas Kraus, *Maximilian I. Bayerns Großer Kurfürst* (Graz: Verlag Styria, 1990); Karl-Ludwig Ay, *Land und Fürst im alten Bayern: 16–18. Jahrhundert* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1988); Dietmar Heil, *Die Reichspolitik Bayerns unter der Regierung Herzog Albrecht V. (1550–1579)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998); Englebert Maximilian Buxbaum, *Petrus Canisius und die kirchliche Erneurung des Herzogtums Bayern 1549–1556* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1973); Robert Bireley, *Maximilian I. von Bayern, Adam Contzen S.J. und die Gegenreformation in Deutschland 1624–1635* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975); Franziska Neuer Landfried, *Die Katholische Liga: Gründung, Neugründung und Organisation eines Sonderbundes 1608–1620)* (Munich: Verlag Michael Lasslaben Kallmünz Opf., 1968).

[15] Volker Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat: Regierung und Zentralbehörden der Kurpfalz, 1559–1619* (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1970); Claus-Peter Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1963); Frank Konersmann, *Kirchenregiment und Kirchenzucht im frühneuzeitlichen Kleinstaat. Studien den herrschaftlichen Grundlagen des Kirchenregiments der Herzöge von Pfalz-Zweibrücken 1410–1793* (Cologne: Rheinland Verlag, 1996); Winfried Dotzauer, *Der historische Raum des Bundeslandes Rheinland-Pfalz von 1500–1815: der fürstliche Politik für Reich und Land, ihre Krisen und Zusammenbruche* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1993); Erika Kossol, *Die Reichspolitik des Pfalzgrafen Phillip Ludwig von Neuburg (1547–1614)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976); Andreas Edel, *Der Kaiser und Kurpfalz: eine Studie zu den Grundelementen politischen Handels bei Maximilian II (1564–1576)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997); Paul Münch, *Zucht und Ordnung: Reformierte Kirchenverfassungen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert (Nassau-Dillenburg, Kurpfalz, Hessen-Kassel)* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1978).

[16] Volker Press, "Bayerns wittelsbachische Gegenspieler-Die Heidelberger Kurfürsten, 1505–1685," in *Um Glauben und Reich: Kurfürst Maximilian I. Beiträge zur Bayerischen Geschichte und Kunst 1573–1651*, ed. Hubert Glaser (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1980), 24–39; Dieter Albrecht, *Maximilian I. von Bayern, 1573–1651* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1998), 578; Jürgen Steiner, *Die pfälzische Kurwürde während des Dreissigjährigen Krieges (1618–1648)* (Speyer: Pfälzische Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften, 1985).

[17] Most recently, Trevor Johnson, "Defining the Confessional Frontier: Bavaria, the Upper Palatinate and Counter-Reformation 'Historica Sacra'," in *Frontiers and*

G. Asch has suggested that the dynastic rivalry between the different branches of the Wittelsbachs led them to promote intensive confessionalization in their attempt to gain greater influence within the Empire. They did this by becoming spokespersons for the different confessions, culminating in the selection of Frederick V as head of the Protestant Union and Maximilian I as the leader of the Catholic League.[18] The splitting of the Wittelsbach dynasty along confessional alignments happened not just to the Wittelsbachs, but also to the other electoral houses in the Empire during the confessional age. In fact, the Wettins' and Hohenzollerns' dynastic-religious tensions also culminated in Protestant electors being challenged by Catholic ducal rivals.[19]

Thomas Brady has also underscored how tensions between confessionalized states became acute in the Empire since the 1580s.[20] In addition, Brennan Pursell has underscored the limits of confessionalization and the importance of constitutional concerns for Frederick V.[21] In his work he also suggests the significance of dynastic interests.[22] Likewise, Peter Bilhöfer has stressed the importance of honor as well as religious scruples for understanding Frederick V's activities during the Thirty Years' War.[23] However, Bilhöfer has also recognized the confessional dynastic continuity between the Count Palatine Johann Casimir's foreign assistance to Protestants and Frederick V's acceptance of the

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the Writing of History, 1500–1800, eds. Steven Ellis and Raingard Esser (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2006), 151–66; Matthias Schöberl, "Vom pfälzischen *Teilstaat* zum bayerischen *Staatenteil*. Landesherrliche Durchdringungs-und Religionspolitik kurpfälzischer und kurbayerischer Herrschaft in der Oberen Pfalz von 1595 bis 1648" (Ph.D. diss. University of Regensburg, 2006); Josef Hanauer, *Die bayerischen Kurfürsten Maximilian I. und Ferdinand Maria und die katholische Restauration in der Oberpfalz* (Regensburg: Verlag des Vereins für Regensburger Bistumsgeschichte, 1993); Franz Maier, *Die bayerische Unterpfalz im Dreissigjährigen Krieg. Besetzung, Verwaltung und Rekatholisierung der rechtsrheinischen Pfalz durch Bayern 1621–1649* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1990).

[18] Ronald G. Asch, *The Thirty Years War: the Holy Roman Empire and Europe, 1618–1648* (London: Macmillan Press, 1997), 22–23.

[19] Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 270–271.

[20] Thomas A. Brady, Jr., *Communities, Politics and Reformation in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), 378.

[21] Brennan Pursell, *The Winter King: Frederick V of the Palatinate and the Coming of the Thirty Years' War* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

[22] Ibid., 50.

[23] Peter Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen: Friedrich V., Kurfürst von der Pfalz-der 'Winterkönig' von Böhmen (1596–1632)* (Heidelberg: Eigenverlag Rhein-Neckar-Kreis, 2004).

Bohemian crown.[24] Moreover, Magnus Rüde has recently examined the interaction between England the Electoral Palatinate and has persuasively reinforced the notion of confessionalization in shaping Palatine foreign policy and Frederick V's willingness to accept the Bohemian crown.[25] Two Czech scholars, Jaroslav Miller and Jaroslav Čechura, have also recently added important contributions for our understanding of Frederick's rule in Bohemia. Miller has persuasively articulated the role of English literary patrons in shaping a Palatine dynastic myth that was distinct from the Rosicrucian Enlightenment.[26] Čechura has also convincingly demonstrated that besides Calvinist zeal, Frederick's youthful character, unawareness of Bohemia's Hussite legacy, and failure to recognize the tenacity of Czech cultural traditions were all important reasons that contributed to his alienation in Bohemia.[27] Nevertheless, Volker Press wrote the only article devoted to the inner dynastic rivalry between the Wittelsbachs from 1550–1650 and its relationship to confessionalization.[28]

A critical element in the process of confessionalization largely untouched has been the role of the Wittelsbach women in the process of confessionalization. Anna Coreth and Heide Wunder have cogently demonstrated how piety was conceived in familial terms and how both genders contributed significantly to the process of dynastic legitimization through confessionalization.[29] However, only a few works have dealt with the challenges of mixed confessional families in early modern Europe.[30] Quite recently, David Sabean, Simon Teutscher, and

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[24] Ibid., 251.

[25] Magnus Rüde, *England und Kurpfalz im werdenden Mächteeuropa (1608–1632). Konfession-Dynastie-kulturelle Ausdrucksformen* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2007).

[26] Jaroslav Miller, *Falcký Mýtus. Fridrich V. a obraz české války v raně stuartovské Anglii* (Prague: Argo, 2004).

[27] Jaroslav Čechura, *Zimní Král aneb české dobrodružství Fridricha Falckého* (Prague: Rybka Publishers, 2004), 95, 364.

[28] Press, "Bayerns wittelsbachische Gegenspieler-Die Heidelberger Kurfürsten, 1505–1685," in *Um Glauben und Reic*, ed. Glaser, 24–39.

[29] Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca. Österreichische Frömmigkeit im Barock*, 2d ed. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1982); Heide Wunder, *He is the Sun, She is the Moon: Women in Early Modern Germany*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

[30] See for example, Craig Harline, "Religious Wars at Home: The Problem of Confessionally Mixed Families," in *Politics and Reformations. Essays in Honor of Thomas A. Brady, Jr.*, eds. Ocker, et al., 425–440; Barbara Diefendorf, "Houses Divided: Religious Schism in Sixteenth-Century Parisian Families," in *Urban Life in the Renaissance*, eds. Susan Zimmerman and Ronald Weissman (Newark: University of Deleware Press, 1989), 80–99; Raymond Mentzer, *Blood and Belief: Family Survival*

Jon Mathieu have edited a valuable work that combines historical and sociological perspectives on the nature of kinship and its relationship to the rise of modern states.[31] It offers an impressive and comprehensive approach to kinship covering all strata of society. Nevertheless, despite these notable works, one of the leading scholars on the history of gender and ritual in early modern Europe, Susan Karant-Nunn, has noted the relative paucity of studies that apply interdisciplinary models for examining the religious practices of the aristocratic strata of society. She remarked that this is an unintended consequence of the praiseworthy efforts by social historians to give non-elites their important places in the annals of history.[32] A primary objective of this book is to bring out of obscurity Wittelsbach consorts who have been largely ignored by modern historians of the early modern era.[33] Indeed, it reconfirms earlier work done on many of the long-neglected Habsburg consorts: female consorts played a critical role in sustaining a sense of dynastic religious legitimacy for their respective houses.[34]

Related to this lack of research on Wittelsbach consorts, there is a dearth of monographs comparing both halves of Wittelsbach court cultures in their confessional contexts. The German historian Ernst Walter Zeeden was the first to conceptualize the idea of cultural confessionalization in 1979.[35] Three years later, Wilhelm Kühlmann also produced a pioneering work for German literature which dealt with

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and Confessional Identity among the Provincial Nobility (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1994).

[31] David Warren Sabean, Simon Teutscher, and Jon Mathieu, eds. *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development (1300–1900)* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007).

[32] Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "'Christians' Mourning and Lament Should not be Like the Heathens': The Suppression of Religious Emotion in the Reformation," in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700*, ed. John Headley, 129.

[33] Of the two consorts discussed in this paper, only Elisabeth Renata has received any recent attention. See Margit Ksoll, "Der Hofstaat der Kurfürstin von Bayern zur Zeit Maximilians." *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 52 (1989): 59–69.

[34] Charles Ingrao and Andrew Thomas, "Piety and Power: The Empresses-Consort of the High Baroque," in *Queenship in Early Modern Europe 1660–1815: The Role of the Consort*, ed. Clarissa Campbell Orr (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 107–130; id., "Piety and Patronage: The Empresses-Consort of the High Baroque," *German History* 20 (2002): 20–43.

[35] Ernst Walter Zeeden, "Literarische und 'unliterarische' Texte als Quellen zur Geschichte des Zeitalters der Gegenreformation," in *Gegenreformation und Formen der Konfessionsbildung: Beiträge zur interdisziplinären Erforschung der katholischen Reformbewegung*, ed. Jean Marie Valentin (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1979), 21–49.

late Renaissance court culture.[36] 1991 marked the publication of James Parente, Richard Schade, and George Schoolfield's edited volume concerning "literary culture" in the Holy Roman Empire from an interdisciplinary context.[37] In the year 2000, Erika Rummel applied this concept to the early stages of the Protestant Reformation with the notion of "confessionalized humanism" in which literati employed their classical training to champion their respective confessional views.[38] The same year another prominent historian, William Bouwsma, published an important work on late Renaissance culture that demonstrates the profound influence of religious and political tensions in creating more rigid world views during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[39] Likewise, the year 2000 also witnessed Notker Hammerstein and Gerrit Walther's joint publication treating late Renaissance humanism.[40] More recently, Thomas Maissen and Gerrit Walther have edited an important work on the broad social "functions" of Renaissance humanism from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries.[41]

Hugh Trevor-Roper once referred to the competition between the Palatine and Bavarian branches of the Wittelsbachs as a classic case of the cultural struggles that characterized many Baroque courts.[42]

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[36] Wilhelm Kühlmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik und Fürstenstaat: Entwicklung und Kritik des deutschen Späthumanismus in der Literatur des Barockzeitalters* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1982).

[37] James A. Parente, Jr., Richard Erich Schade, and George C. Schoolfield, eds. *Literary Culture in the Holy Roman Empire, 1555–1720* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

[38] Erika Rummel, *The Confessionalization of Humanism in Reformation Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[39] William Bouwsma, *The Waning of the Renaissance 1550–1640*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

[40] Notker Hammerstein and Gerrit Walther, eds., *Späthumanismus: Studien über das Ende einer Kulturhistorischen Epoche* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2000).

[41] Thomas Maissen and Gerrit Walther, eds., *Funktionen des Humanismus: Studien zum Nutzen des Neuen in der humanistischen Kultur* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006).

[42] Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Culture of the Baroque Courts," in *Renaissance Essays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 232; see also Peter Claus Hartmann, "Konfessionelle Kulturen im 17. Jahrhundert: Kalvinisten, Lutheraner, Katholiken," in *Der Winterkönig, Friedrich von der Pfalz: Bayern und Europa im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*, eds. Peter Wolf, et al. (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2003), 46–53.

However, despite important works on the Bavarian[43] and Palatine[44] courts, no major study has compared the influential roles of both halves of the Wittelsbach dynasty on the confessionalization of Renaissance humanism and the development of distinctly confessionalized court cultures and identities. Thus, this monograph seeks to fill in the remaining lacunas in the field by integrating the concept of cultural confessionalization for the Wittelsbach courts and placing Wittelsbach women back into their historical positions as active participants in the confessional age.

The first four chapters of this work concentrate on the development of confessional court cultures among the Wittelsbachs primarily between the death of the Palatine Elector Ottheinrich in 1559 and the Bohemian Revolt in 1618 which began the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). As David Sabean once stated concerning the creation of self-identity in the confessional age, "ideas and actions are not divorceable from their imbrication in the production of social relationships."[45] Thus, in order to delineate this confessionalizing process, these chapters discuss four progressive layers of confessional Wittelsbach identity and influence as a dynasty with distinct court cultures dating back to the late Middle Ages: first, the confessionalization of the rulers themselves as dynastic parents through educational preparation for their heirs; second, the confessionalization of their respective courts through patronage of the arts and letters; third, the confessionalization of their lands as territorial rulers through patronage of ecclesiastical establishments and education; fourth, the confessionalization of international diplomacy through marriage and military alliances.

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[43] Rainer Babel, "The Duchy of Bavaria. The Courts of the Wittelsbachs c. 1500–1750," in *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics, and Culture under the Ancien Régime, 1500–1750*, ed. John Adamson (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999), 189–209; Gerhard Woeckel, *Pietas Bavarica. Höfische Kunst und Bayerische Frömmigkeit 1550–1848* (Weissenhorn: A.H. Konrad, 1992); Samuel John Klingensmith, *The Utility of Splendour: Ceremony, Social Life and Architecture at the Court of Bavaria*, eds. Christian F. Otto and Mark Ashton (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

[44] Barbara Zeitelhack, ed., *Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich. Politik, Kunst und Wissenschaften im 16. Jahrhundert* (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 2002); Eike Wolgast. *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert: Studien zur Geschichte der Kurpfalz im Reformationszeitalter*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1998; Volker Press, "Hof, Stadt und Territorium. Die Universität Heidelberg in der Kurpfalz 1386–1802," in *Die Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg*, ed. Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, 45–68 (Heidelberg: HVA, 1986).

[45] David Warren Sabean, "Production of the Self during the Age of Confessionalism," *Central European History* 29 (1996): 7.

The first chapter concentrates on how the educational experience of the Wittelsbach rulers reflected the confessionalization of their sense of dynastic identity shaped by the late medieval and Renaissance humanist past. The Wittelsbachs ruled Bavaria from 1180–1918 and the Palatinate from 1214–1805. During the late medieval and early modern eras (1350–1789) the Wittelsbachs produced two emperors for the Holy Roman Empire: Ludwig the Bavarian (r. 1314–1347) and Karl VII (r. 1742–1745). They also could boast two kings: Ruprecht (r. 1314–1347) for the Empire and Frederick V (r. 1619–1620) for Bohemia during a brief but critical season. The dynasty divided into two main branches when the Wittelsbach Emperor Ludwig the Bavarian acknowledged the rights of the descendants of his deceased elder brother Rudolf to the Palatine lands and the rights of Ludwig's own descendants to the Bavarian territories with the Treaty of Pavia in 1329. The Treaty of Pavia also stipulated that the prestigious electoral title, which made the Wittelsbachs one of only four secular prince-electors of the Holy Roman Empire, should alternate between the descendents of the two main branches. This house settlement, however, came to an end when Emperor Charles IV issued the Golden Bull of 1356, which served as the primary foundation of the Imperial constitution for centuries. According to the Golden Bull, the electoral title for the Wittelsbachs became permanently attached to the Palatine branch of the dynasty, an action which the Bavarian branch resented and contested. Thus, from 1356 until 1648 there were tensions in the house over the electoral title and other inheritance claims. These disputes between the rulers of the Calvinist Palatine Wittelsbachs and the Catholic Bavarian Wittelsbachs were important factors leading to the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

Wittelsbach dynastic disputes predated the Protestant Reformation, but Wittelsbach dynastic disagreements and identity converged with the religious fervor of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations from 1550–1650 in a way that allowed the different branches of the dynasty to justify their actions as defenders of the 'true' faith. Indeed, the Wittelsbachs were both producers and products of prevailing ideas of rulership that held sway in the confessional age and most prominently articulated in mirror of prince literature. Following the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, the Wittelsbachs, as well as other territorial princes, were given the responsibilities formerly associated with kings and emperors as protectors of Christendom. Like their Carolingian predecessors, these new princely pedagogical treatises frequently invoked

the images of biblical kings defending the faith to serve as role models for the rulers in the confessional age. For the Wittelsbachs this transition was facilitated by their medieval heritage as prominent rulers in the Holy Roman Empire. Although Wittelsbach females were not expected to militarily defend the faith, they were expected to be models of piety, and they did play an important role as educators for their children.

The second and third chapters explore how the new confessionalized rulers used patronage at their courts to promote the confessionalization of their territories. They also address how individual aesthetic tastes and sense of devotion dictated the level of confessionalization that each court and territory experienced in this age. Wittelsbach identity as a prominent dynasty within the Empire cannot be separated from the prestige gained as patrons of the arts, education, and religion dating back to the late Middle Ages. Before he became King of the Germans, Ruprecht of the Palatinate gained considerable recognition when he established the University of Heidelberg in 1381, making it Germany's oldest university. His son Elector Ludwig III in 1436 inaugurated the renowned library collection in Heidelberg known as the *Bibliotheca Palatina*. The library, mostly housed in the court chapel, increased in holdings dramatically in the sixteenth century under the Lutheran Elector Ottheinrich and the Calvinist Elector Frederick III. Indeed, after Ulrich Fugger of Augsburg converted to Protestantism and sought refuge in Heidelberg, he donated his personal library to the collection in 1584. This made the *Bibliotheca Palatina* the most extensive library north of the Alps. Like their Palatine cousins, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs gained fame as patrons of culture that reflected the values of their age. For example, in 1436 Duke Ludwig "the Rich" of Bavaria established the University of Ingolstadt which, like the University of Heidelberg, became an important center for the development of the Northern Renaissance. The renowned German Renaissance poet Conrad Celtis praised both halves of the Wittelsbach dynasty for their patronage of learning. Only thirteen years before Ulrich Fugger made his substantial contribution to the Palatine court library in 1584, Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria founded the Munich court library with the assistance of Ulrich's Catholic relative, Jakob Fugger.

Wittelsbach confessional patronage from both the husbands and the wives ensured that their courts and universities served as notable asylums for exiled literati who in turn played major roles in articulating their patrons' world views and connecting them with the broader

movements in Europe. For example, Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria, "the Pious," and his wife, Renata of Lorraine, had an important influence on Catholic reform in Central Europe through dynastic ties with the Habsburgs. They appointed the Jesuit Peter Canisius as rector of the University of Ingolstadt five years before Ferdinand I commissioned Canisius to publish his influential catechism that eventually went through twelve language translations during his life time. Likewise, in 1563 Wilhelm V's contemporary, Elector Frederick III of the Palatinate, also earned the same epithet "the Pious" for his zeal. After becoming Elector Palatine, Frederick III converted from Lutheranism to a hybrid form of Calvinism and earned through his efforts at spreading Calvinism the reputation as a Calvinist Josiah 'restoring' Christianity to his dominions. However, Frederick III encountered stiff resistance in the Upper Palatinate where the Lutheran-dominated Estates claimed that Frederick III's efforts were illegal since Calvinism was not recognized by the Peace of Augsburg. Indeed, although geographical distance contributed to making the Upper Palatinate a mixed confessional territory, the main cause was the resistance from Lutherans in the region, including those represented in the self-confident landed estates, and disaffected Lutheran Wittelsbach family members—among which was Frederick III's own heir, Ludwig VI. Frederick III claimed his Calvinist religious views were consistent with the Bible as well as with Philippist Lutheranism which was recognized by the Peace of Augsburg. Frederick III commissioned his court preacher and former professor of theology at the University of Heidelberg, Caspar Olevianus, to write the Heidelberg Catechism for the use of churches and schools in his territories. It was a Calvinist catechism that reflected Zwinglian, and Philippist perspectives, especially on the Eucharist. The Heidelberg Catechism also became influential among other Calvinist communities from Holland to Transylvania. Indeed, despite a Lutheran interlude under Ludwig VI, by the time Frederick III's great-grandson, Frederick V, came to power, the University of Heidelberg was one of the leading centers of anti-Habsburg propaganda that attracted Calvinist scholars across Europe. At the same time, Maximilian I of Bavaria became the dominant figure for the Catholic cause in the Empire. Just as the University of Heidelberg attracted Calvinists from abroad, so too the University of Ingolstadt became a magnet for Catholic students from across Europe.

The fourth chapter illuminates how confessionally motivated dynastic marriage alliances contributed significantly to the creation of a cold

war between the two halves of the dynasty that turned hot with the Thirty Years' War. Although the confessional and cultural dichotomy within the Wittelsbach dynasty was not a unique phenomenon, the Wittelsbachs' position on the international scene makes it an especially attractive comparative case study for examining the impact of confessionalization on Europe in general. Confessionally arranged marriage alliances by the Wittelsbachs meant that the Calvinist Palatine Wittelsbachs had far closer ties with the houses of Orange and Stuart than with their Bavarian cousins. In particular, Louise-Juliana of Orange, the consort of Elector Frederick IV, and Elizabeth Stuart, the consort of Frederick V, brought the Palatine Wittelsbachs even greater prominence in the arena of international Calvinism. Likewise, the Catholic Bavarian Wittelsbachs strengthened their dynastic ties with other prominent Catholic houses such as Habsburg and Lorraine rather than their Palatine relations. Renata of Lorraine, the consort of Wilhelm V, played a critical role in maintaining the dynastic ties with the house of Lorraine by persuading her son Maximilian to marry her niece, Elisabeth Renata of Lorraine. Concomitantly, one daughter of Wilhelm V and Renata, Maria Anna of Bavaria, was very influential in spreading the Catholic Reform movement in Habsburg Austria as the wife of Archduke Karl of Styria and mother of the future Emperor Ferdinand II.

The Calvinist Palatine Elector Frederick III considered himself a defender of 'true' Christianity against Catholic 'tyranny' in the form of the Habsburg dynasty and the Catholic Valois rulers in France. Indeed, his younger son, Johann Casimir, earned the sobriquet "Maccabeus Junior" and "Joshua" from fellow Calvinists for leading or financing armies to defend the interests of French and Dutch Calvinists. Likewise, Palatine and Bavarian interests clashed in the Cologne War of 1583 when the Archbishop of Cologne converted to Protestantism, which was no small matter since the Archbishop of Cologne was one of the seven prince-electors in the Holy Roman Empire. If he were allowed to keep this office, the Protestants would obtain a majority of the electoral votes for the first time. Wilhelm V responded by sending Bavarian and Spanish troops to enforce the placement of Wilhelm V's brother Ernst as Archbishop of Cologne. This won the praise of Catholics who considered Wilhelm V as another "Judas Maccabeus" or "Second Constantine" and shared Wilhelm's desire to keep the Catholic majority status within the Empire, but it further increased the tensions between the Palatinate and Bavaria. Likewise, the policies

of Frederick III, Johann Casimir, and Frederick IV to militarily support the cause of international Calvinism came with a price since they alienated many prominent Lutheran and Catholic dynasties within the Empire as well as their own cadet branch of Palatinate-Neuburg which had remained Lutheran.

After successfully exploiting the division between Heidelberg and Neuburg, Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria and his son Maximilian I greatly facilitated the conversion of Wolfgang Wilhelm of Palatinate-Neuburg to Catholicism. Wolfgang Wilhelm converted out of personal conviction and the prospects of inheriting the valuable Jülich-Berg territories. The result of his conversion was the first marriage between a Palatine and a Bavarian Wittelsbach since the marriage between Ottheinrich and Susanna of Bavaria in 1529. In 1613 Wolfgang Wilhelm married Magdalena, a daughter of Wilhelm V and Renata of Lorraine, an event which occurred the very same year that the confessional Palatine policies of Elector Frederick IV and his advisors Christian von Anhalt and Ludwig Camerarius also peaked with a marriage. They cemented their diplomatic efforts with a wedding between the Elector's son, Frederick V, and Elizabeth Stuart, the daughter of the Protestant king James I of England.

The collision course between the major branches of the Wittelsbach dynasty accelerated in 1608 when Frederick IV established the defensive military alliance in the Empire known as the Protestant Union, and a year later Maximilian I and his allies responded by establishing the Catholic League. The collision was cemented when Frederick V accepted the Bohemian crown from the Protestant-Hussite dominated Bohemian Estates which had rebelled against the Habsburg ruler Ferdinand II in 1618, the year that marked the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. Although the Thirty Years' War was not 'inevitable,' the wedding of confessional and dynastic interests by the Wittelsbachs and other dynasties certainly helped make it possible.

In addition, chapter four also concentrates on how the confessional age gave birth to several Wittelsbach dynastic myths that had originated in medieval times and became enshrined in this era thanks to the confessionalization of Renaissance humanism. First, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs and their supporters promoted the dynastic myth of the *pietas bavarica* that asserted that God had chosen the Bavarian Wittelsbachs as defenders of Catholicism. This myth competed with a second myth, the 'Palatine Myth' in which the Palatine Wittelsbachs claimed that they were defenders of Protestantism against Catholic

'tyranny' usually equated with the Habsburg Madrid-Vienna axis. Indeed, intimately related and sometimes competing with the *pietas bavarica*, was the parallel Habsburg dynastic myth, the *pietas austriaca*, according to which God expected the house of Habsburg to defend the Catholic Church from heresy. All of these dynastic myths mirrored and promoted the late medieval origins of their dynastic rule. Also, the *pietas bavarica* and the *pietas austriaca* reflected how confessional marriages strengthened the bonds of the Bavarian Wittelsbachs and the Austrian Habsburgs in this age.

The final four chapters of the book are devoted to the events involving the Wittelsbach courts during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). Chapter five demonstrates how Frederick V of the Palatinate became a subject of confessionalized Renaissance humanism that drew from the Central European Renaissance tradition of blending medieval imperial pride with the expectations of a new Golden Age. Initially, Frederick's Bohemian supporters attempted to portray him as a Protestant version of two important figures in late medieval Bohemian history. First was the paragon of Bohemian kingship, Emperor Charles IV, and the other was the military legacy of the victorious Hussite leader Jan Žižka.

The Rosicrucian Enlightenment also served as a classic example of the manner in which Renaissance humanism could become confessionalized for political ends. The origins of this movement can be found in a shared interest in Paracelsian medicine by both sides of the Wittelsbach dynasty that culminated in the collaborative effort in the 1580s between the Catholic Ernst of Wittelsbach, the Archbishop of Cologne and brother of Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria, and the Lutheran Count Palatine of Neuburg, Philipp Ludwig, to gather Paracelsian texts. Their cooperation produced the first collected works of the very influential doctor, alchemist, and mystic, Paracelsus, who not only questioned Galenic assumptions about the body, but also all established clerical claims to orthodoxy—both Protestant and Catholic. Indeed, Paracelsus became a prominent forerunner of modern chemistry and pharmacology with his emphases on observation and experimentation. When confessional tensions increased, Paracelsian medicine became confessionalized. A number of his enthusiasts began to link the Palatine Elector Frederick V with images found in pseudo-Paracelsian texts of a heavily anti-papal and eschatological nature in what became known as the Rosicrucian Enlightenment. This movement became an offshoot of the 'Palatine Myth' and its promoters argued that a renewal of the world by alchemical means would produce a long sought Golden

Age in both literal and figurative senses. Christian von Anhalt and Ludwig Camerarius, key court advisors of Frederick V, promoted Frederick as the defender of Protestantism who would usher in this Golden Age by defeating the Habsburgs and their other Catholic allies whom they associated with the armies of the Anti-Christ at the end of time. Also some of his Bohemian supporters were inspired by the Rosicrucian Enlightenment and joined with Frederick's political advisors in promoting Frederick as the Last Emperor before the Second Coming. However, Frederick's attempt to rule Bohemia as a Calvinist king defending Protestantism against Catholic Habsburg 'tyranny' and restoring the balance between Utraquists and Catholics in Bohemia floundered.

The sixth chapter examines how Frederick V and his advisors' policies alienated much of the Bohemian population and left him without the internal support he needed to successfully defend the realm when his cousin, Maximilian I of Bavaria, in the name of the Emperor, successfully challenged Frederick's claim to the Bohemian throne. Although Frederick and his Palatine councilors had supported elective monarchy for the Holy Roman Empire in conjunction with the defense of religious liberties, once in power in Bohemia, Frederick and his supporters did the very same things that they had accused their Habsburg predecessors of doing: establishing a hereditary monarchy and enforcing their own version of confessionalization.

Frederick and his supporters first attempted a general Protestant-Hussite confessionalization in Bohemia that alienated Catholic supporters. Then he and his advisors' zealous encouragement of Calvinist and Calvinist-influenced Bohemian Brethren's iconoclastic activity and liturgical reform angered many Bohemian Lutherans and Lutheran-influenced Utraquists. Finally, Frederick and his advisors' attempt to establish a hereditary dynasty in Bohemia disenchanted many of their remaining supporters within Bohemia. Frederick tried to resurrect the legacy of his late medieval ancestor, King Ruprecht, by naming his son born in Prague with the same programmatic name, and pressuring the Bohemian Estates into electing his eldest son as heir elect. His efforts clashed with the Bohemian Estates' claims of elective kingship that likewise dated back to the late Middle Ages. The result was failed confessionalization and extreme alienation that caused Frederick to lose the support he needed within the Bohemian crown lands. Frederick's rule in Bohemia was so brief that his detractors referred to him as the "Winter King" because his rule only lasted one winter. Indeed,

the challenges Frederick V encountered as the "Winter King" related directly to the crises of sacral kingship in Bohemia that dated back to the later Middle Ages, and his inability to master these challenges cost him the crown. Within only a few hours, Frederick's army lost the Battle of White Mountain in 1620 against his Bavarian Wittelsbach rival Maximilian I, whom Emperor Ferdinand II had sent to enforce the Imperial ban against Frederick for rebellion. The consequences for the Wittelsbachs were profound.

The seventh chapter explores how Maximilian's victory over Frederick's army at the Battle of White Mountain proved a severe blow to the Palatine and Rosicrucian myths and left Maximilian in a far greater position to promote the Bavarian myth or the *pietas bavarica*. The accompanying praise by Catholic literati allowed Maximilian to augment his claim as the legitimate leader of the Wittelsbach dynasty that had unjustly lost the electoral title in the late Middle Ages. The Imperial ban against Frederick, the victory at White Mountain, as well as the confessional and dynastic ties between the Austrian Habsburgs and the Bavarian Wittelsbachs, all made it possible for Maximilian to take possession of the Palatine electoral title and lands from Frederick. The ban also allowed printers in the Empire to lampoon Frederick, the 'Palatine Myth,' and the Rosicrucian Enlightenment. However, Frederick believed that his cause was just and he and his international sympathizers, including Puritans in New England, feared the spreading of Catholic 'tyranny' throughout the world. The attempts by Frederick to retake his lands and title and Maximilian's efforts to keep them were important factors in prolonging the Thirty Years' War.

The eighth and final chapter examines how Maximilian and his advocates attempted to transform the Palatinate by enforcing Catholic confessionalization during the Thirty Years' War, while Frederick struggled to regroup in his court-in-exile at The Hague. Bohemia and the Palatinate shared a similar fate after White Mountain: Ferdinand II imposed Catholic confessionalization in Bohemia and Maximilian did the same in the Palatine region under his control. Related to these confessionalizing efforts, Wittelsbachs patronized artists and writers who supported their positions. Indeed, patronage and Wittelsbach political identity were inseparably linked. For example, following Maximilian's conquest of Heidelberg, he seized the famous library, the *Bibliotheca Palatina*, as war booty. Maximilian recognized both the monetary and the cultural value of 'possessing' the library of his rival. Despite a desire to augment his own library with the holdings

of the *Bibliotheca Palatina*, Maximilian offered them to Pope Gregory XV in 1623 both as a sign of piety and recognition of the pope's efforts in helping Maximilian acquire the electoral title from his Palatine cousin. Likewise, the renowned Flemish artist Peter Paul Rubens was willing to accept commissions from both Maximilian and his brother-in-law, Wolfgang Wilhelm, even though they were not sovereign rulers. Rubens was very aware of Maximilian's importance as a defender of the Catholic faith in the Empire following his victory at White Mountain. Rubens was also cognizant of the strategic importance of Wolfgang Wilhelm's lands in the Jülich-Berg region that were essential to Habsburg efforts against the Dutch Revolt.

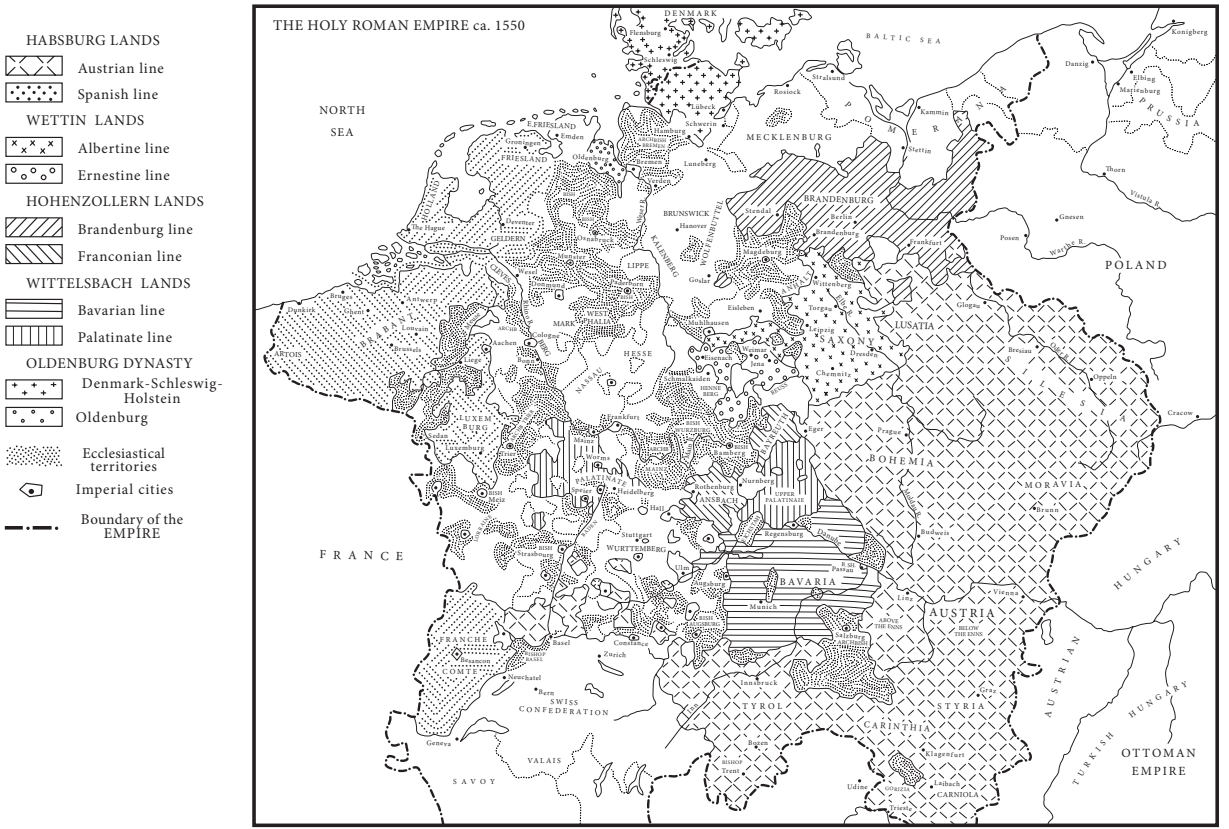
Patronage was also critical in Maximilian's attempts to incorporate the Palatine regions into a greater Bavaria. At first he focused on dismantling Calvinist resistance by expelling Calvinist preachers and educators and supplanting them with Jesuits. Likewise, efforts were made to transform the University of Heidelberg into a Jesuit institution and have them censor Protestant writings, while simultaneously increasing the flow of Catholic literature into the region, especially from Spain. When Maximilian felt his claims were legally secure after 1623, he increased the pressure on the inhabitants to convert to Catholicism by quartering troops in homes and claiming his right as a territorial lord to determine the religion of his subjects. Maximilian initially encountered less resistance in the Upper Palatinate because that had been a region in which the Palatine Wittelsbachs never fully implemented a Calvinist Reformation. Indeed, the earlier pattern of initial attempts at Calvinist confessionalization in the Upper Palatinate that ended with compromises as a result of popular internal resistance was comparable to the Frederick V's efforts in Bohemia before the Battle of White Mountain.

Another parallel with Frederick's Bohemian adventure was when Frederick and Elizabeth managed to alienate many Dutch supporters, just as they had done in Bohemia. The loss of titles and lands led Frederick and Elizabeth to camouflage their dependency status by living like monarchs at their court-in-exile at The Hague. However, by attempting to maintain their claims to the Bohemian throne in this manner, they actually offended many of their Dutch protectors. Frederick and Elizabeth's living stipend burned holes in their royal pockets as they tried to demonstrate through patronage and display that they were still King and Queen of Bohemia. However, their stipend came primarily from the bourgeois-dominated States General

which resented this aristocratic lifestyle that grated against their own sense of fiscal soundness. Indeed it represented two diverging value systems originating in the Renaissance: bourgeois versus court patronage. Frederick's and Elizabeth's efforts did help the prestige of the House of Orange, but it came at the expense of alienating the States General from Frederick's cause. After Frederick's death, Elizabeth made sure that their sons received a strong military education in the United Provinces so that they could defend their father's claims. In fact, several of their sons became stellar military leaders, but in the service of their Dutch and English relatives. Not one of them managed to fulfill the expectations of their parents that they would revive the 'Palatine Myth' and take back the Bohemian and Palatine lands through military means.

The Peace of Westphalia in 1648 ended the Thirty Years' War and the Palatine crisis. The ensuing peace treaty affected the constitution of the Empire by creating an eighth electorate for Frederick V's son, Karl Ludwig, so that Maximilian and his descendants could keep in perpetuity the electoral title he acquired at Frederick's expense at the beginning of the war. However, the treaty restored only the region of the Lower Palatinate to Karl Ludwig while the Upper Palatinate became permanently annexed to Bavaria. Indeed, the final division of the Palatinate at the end of the Thirty Years' War was simply the geographical expression of a house divided.

In conclusion, this book illuminates how Wittelsbach confessional court cultures contributed significantly to the splintering of Renaissance humanism along religious lines in this era. Concomitantly, this work sheds new light on the impact of late medieval dynastic competition on shaping the early modern Wittelsbach courts, as well as the important role of Wittelsbach women in the creation and continuation of dynastic piety in their roles as wives, mothers, and patronesses of the arts. Finally, this examination of the role of Wittelsbach confessionalized court cultures broadens our understanding of the complex relationship between faith and politics across Europe in the confessional age.



Map 1. “The Holy Roman Empire, ca. 1550”. Thomas Brady, Jr. “Settlements: The Holy Roman Empire” in *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation*. Volume II Visions, Programs, and Outcomes. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996, 350 pp.

CHAPTER ONE

REFLECTING DYNASTIC DESTINIES: MIRROR OF PRINCE LITERATURE AND WITTELSBACH EDUCATION

In the late nineteenth century, the German scholar Friedrich Schmidt edited an impressive collection of primary sources pertaining to the education of both halves of the Wittelsbach dynasty in the late medieval and early modern eras.[1] He claimed that, from 1550–1650, the Wittelsbach courts retained a similar Renaissance humanist court educational program, despite confessional divisions. He maintained that the differences were only evident in the area of religious education where confessional views were underscored.[2] Schmidt was correct in the sense that the Wittelsbachs continued to emphasize the importance of humanist learning for their children. However, humanism itself became confessionalized, and this humanist cultural continuity once shared among the different branches of the Wittelsbach dynasty metamorphosed into different confessional court cultures. The main lines of cultural continuity and discontinuity are manifest in the blending of the Wittelsbachs' medieval roles as secular and religious leaders within the Empire with the new expectations arising from the Protestant and Catholic Reformations.

During this time, confessional identity and dynastic ambitions combined as the different Wittelsbach branches attempted to claim themselves as the legitimate dynastic leaders through defending the 'true' faith. The confessionalization of a humanist education to meet these needs was most pronounced among the Wittlesbach males who were expected to defend the faith in the political and military arenas. On the other hand, the assumed role of the Wittelsbach females remained

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[1] Friedrich Schmidt, ed., *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden nebst geschitlichem Überblick und Register*, Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, no. 14 (Berlin: A. Hofmann, 1892); id., ed., *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden nebst geschichtlichem Überblick und Register*, Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, no. 19 (Berlin: A. Hofmann, 1899).

[2] F. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden*, xxvi–xxvii.

primarily that of domestic defenders of the faith through the preservation of their chastity. Nevertheless, many Wittelsbach women not only defended dynastic honor through fidelity, but also actively participated in the education of their children and went beyond the limited and passive roles assigned to them in much of the pedagogical literature of the era. The creation of Wittelsbach pedagogical court cultures further buttresses Erika Rummel's notion of "confessionalized humanism." Rummel argues that "humanistic ideals of education were absorbed by both Catholics and reformers and tailored to suit their respective confessional goals."[3]

When the Palatine Elector Frederick III converted to Calvinism in 1563, it angered the Lutheran cadet branch of Palatinate-Neuburg, which became estranged and eventually joined with its Bavarian cousins by embracing Catholicism. In order to delineate the extent of the cultural alienation between three prominent Calvinist, Lutheran, and Catholic Wittelsbach courts, this chapter will compare the previously shared medieval and Renaissance educational experiences of the Wittelsbachs and then contrast them with those that developed following the Protestant and Catholic Reformations. An important yardstick in measuring the distance will be the comparison between the educational primary sources associated with the Wittelsbach rulers for their children during the confessional age with those of the shared Renaissance paradigm for princely education that predated the confessional splits within the dynasty.

This shared paradigm was embodied primarily in Desiderius Erasmus's *The Education of a Christian Prince* for Wittelsbach males and in Juan Luis Vives's *The Instruction of a Christian Woman* for Wittelsbach females. In both the Palatinate and Bavaria, Erasmus himself had a mixed reputation. For example, the Huguenot refugee Franciscus Junius (1545–1602) who taught at Heidelberg once felt the need to refute the Jesuit Bellarmine's claim that Erasmus belonged with the Protestants. On the other hand, another scholar active in Heidelberg, Melchior Adam (d. 1622), later wrote a biographical description of Erasmus in which he attempted to distance Erasmus from his loyalties to the Austrian Habsburgs.[4] Not only was the *The Education of a*

[3] Rummel, *The Confessionalization of Humanism in Reformation Germany*, 8.
[4] Bruce Mansfied, *Phoenix of his Age: Interpretations of Erasmus c. 1550–1750* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 50–55, 98–99.

Christian Prince originally dedicated to the future Emperor Charles V of Habsburg, but Erasmus later believed that Charles' younger brother Emperor Ferdinand I became the best example of a true Christian ruler governing by the principles of Christian humanism.[5] Although many of Erasmus's works found themselves on the Catholic Index of Forbidden Books and the Jesuits did not trust Erasmus as a person, Jesuits did share his belief that Renaissance humanism could harness the classics to create a more virtuous Christian society. Because of this common ground, the Jesuits employed Erasmus's didactic works when acting as tutors for the Catholic Wittelsbachs' sons.[6] In this manner, Erasmus's work was influential over not just the Protestant, but also the Catholic branches of the Wittelsbach dynasty, just as it was for many other dynasties in the Empire.[7] Likewise, Juan Luis Vives of Valencia's handbook also played a prominent role in shaping the structure of female education in Germany for both Catholics and Protestants. Christoph Bruno in Munich made the first German translation of this educational treatise for women in 1544 and dedicated it to Jakobea, Duchess of Bavaria and spouse of the Wittelsbach Duke Wilhelm IV.[8]

Erasmus's *The Education of a Christian Prince* and Juan Luis Vives's *The Instruction of a Christian Woman* belong to the genre of pedagogical princely literature known as 'mirror of prince' (German *Fürstenspiegel*), which has a long lineage dating back to antiquity.[9] Originally, these guides were intended to instruct kings and emperors in the virtues necessary for good rule. Throughout the Middle Ages

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[5] Jean-Claude Margolin, "Érasme et Ferdinand de Habsbourg d'après deux letters inédites de l'Empereur à l'humaniste," in *Erasmus of Rotterdam: The Man and the Scholar*, eds. J. Sperna Weiland and W. Frijhoff (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), 15.

[6] John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 260–263; F. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, xxi.; Robert Bireley, *The Counter Reformation Prince: Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), 118.

[7] Notker Hammerstein, "'Großer fürtrefflicher Leute Kinder'. Fürstenerziehung zwischen Humanismus und Reformation," in *Renaissance-Reformation. Gegensätze und Gemeinsamkeiten*, ed. August Buck (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1984), 272.

[8] Dietrich Briesemeister, "Die gedruckten deutschen Übersetzungen von Vives' Werken im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Arbeitsgespräch in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel vom 6. bis 8. November 1980*, ed. August Buck (Hamburg: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Co.), 177.

[9] Hans Hubert Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit*, (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1968).

this role included the defense of Christianity. However, after the Peace of Augsburg (1555) and its mandate of *cuius regio, eius religio* ("whose territory, his religion"), the German princes, including Wittelsbach ones, assumed the roles formerly assigned to kings and emperors as defenders of the faith within the Empire.[10]

The Wittelsbachs themselves were a dynasty that already was *königfähig*, that is one that had the potential for kingship, and mirror of prince literature appealed to Wittelsbachs' ideals and identity inherited from their late medieval past. [11] In fact, the Wittelsbachs were recipients of several 'mirror of prince' treatises written from the late Middle Ages to the early years of the Protestant Reformation.[12] In the late Middle Ages, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs produced an emperor, Ludwig IV (r. 1314–1347), and the Palatine Wittelsbachs a king, Ruprecht (r. 1400–1410). The third wife of the Wittelsbach Duke Ludwig the "Strict" (1229–1294) was Mechtilde, a daughter of Rudolf I of Habsburg, and their son Rudolf I (1274–1319) became the founder of the eldest branch of the Wittelsbachs, the Palatine line. The other son of Ludwig the "Strict" and Mechtilde, Ludwig the Bavarian, later became a king and emperor (Ludwig IV) and was the founder of the Bavarian line of the Wittelsbachs. Both Rudolf and Ludwig went to Vienna at the court of their maternal grandfather Albrecht I of Habsburg, King of the Romans, where they learned not just knightly skills, but also received a religious education that included memorizing the *Ave Maria* and *Pater Noster*.[13]

Despite the shared identity among the Wittelsbachs as defenders of the faith in the late medieval era, the period also included dynastic disputes that helped shape the Wittelsbachs' most important confron-

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[10] Rainer Müller, "Die deutschen Fürstenspiegel des 17. Jahrhunderts: Regierungslehren und politische Pädogogik," *Historische Zeitschrift* 240 (1985): 590–591; Ronald G. Asch, *The Thirty Years War: The Holy Roman Empire and Europe, 1618–48* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1997), 21–22.

[11] Alois Gerlich, *Habsburg-Luxemburg-Wittelsbach im Kampf um die deutsche Königskrone: Studien zur Vorgeschichte des Königtums Ruprechts von der Pfalz* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1960); Jean-Marie Moeglin, *Dynastischer Bewußtsein und Geschichtsschreibung: zum Selbstverständnis, der Wittelsbacher, Habsburger und Hohenzollern im Spätmittelalter* (Munich: Stiftung Historisches Kolleg, 1993).

[12] Bruno Singer, *Die Fürstenspiegel in Deutschland im Zeitalter des Humanismus und der Reformation* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1981), 90–93, 173–199.

[13] F. Schmidt, ed., *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden nebst geschitlichem Überblick und Register* xiii–xviii.

tations in the confessional age. The Wittelsbach dynasty formally split into two main branches with the Treaty of Pavia (1329) in which the Wittelsbach Emperor Ludwig the Bavarian granted the Palatine lands to the descendants of his elder brother Rudolf and the Bavarian holdings to his own descendants. Also, according to the Treaty of Pavia, the coveted electoral title, which allowed the Wittelsbachs the privileged status of being one of a select few with the power to choose the Holy Roman Emperor, was supposed to alternate between the descendents of the two main branches. However, in the long-lasting constitutional accord for the Empire, the Golden Bull of 1356, Emperor Charles IV not only confirmed the number of electors to seven, but to the chagrin of the Bavarian Wittelsbachs, he attached the electoral title permanently to the Palatine branch of the dynasty.[14] Thus, the seeds of dynastic discord were sown in the late Middle Ages and brought with it an identity crisis.

Just as the new religious settlement at Augsburg (1555) had elevated the role of the prince to defenders of religious orthodoxy on par with medieval emperors, so too it renewed latent dynastic aspirations dating from the same medieval era. The Bavarian Wittelsbachs unsuccessfully challenged their Palatine cousins over the electoral title seven times in the 1400s by reasserting the claims of the Treaty of Pavia. However, the next serious attempt did not happen until four years after the Peace of Augsburg when Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria resurrected this late medieval claim to the electoral title at the Imperial Diet of 1559.[15] Albrecht hoped that his religious and dynastic connections with his father-in-law, the Habsburg Emperor Ferdinand I, would cause Ferdinand to support his cause. However, these hopes came to naught as Ferdinand I denied Albrecht's claim because he feared that the Bavarian Wittelsbachs would be able to challenge Habsburg supremacy in the Empire.[16] However, because of the Wittelsbach dynastic division, Wolfgang Weber notes that the Bavarian and Palatine Wittelsbachs were second tier powers in the Empire at the beginning

[14] Karl-Friedrich Krieger, "Bayerische-pfälzische Unionsbestrebungen vom Hausvertrag von Pavia (1329) bis zur Wittelsbachischen Hausunion vom Jahre 1724," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 4 (1977): 385–413.

[15] Dietmar Heil, *Die Reichspolitik Bayerns unter der Regierung Herzog Albrechts V. (1550–1579)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 191–206.

[16] Ibid., 205.

of the early modern era.[17] Nevertheless, for the Wittelsbachs, their new role as defenders of the faith after the Peace of Augsburg revived medieval dynastic claims of rulership and identity that transformed themselves into confessional disputes.

A comparison between the shared medieval and Renaissance educational experiences of the Wittelsbachs with those of the confessional age reveals the profound cultural divisions and identity crisis confessionalized education created within the dynasty. From the beginning, military and church service in the Empire defined Wittelsbach identity and offered venues for translating values into action. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa gave the duchy of Bavaria to Count Palatine Otto of Wittelsbach as a fiefdom for Otto's military services in 1180, while Otto's younger brother, Konrad, became destined for the clergy. Konrad received his education at the court of the Archbishop of Salzburg and later became the Archbishop of Mainz as well as a diplomat and chancellor for the Hohenstaufens.[18] Because of his clerical education and interests, Konrad also belonged to the intellectual circle of the renowned medieval polymath Abbess Hildegard of Bingen.[19]

In contrast to sons receiving a clerical education, the education for Wittelsbach secular rulers during the medieval and early Renaissance was almost exclusively devoted to hunting, tournaments, and war. For example, the Wittelsbach Duke Heinrich XVI of Bavaria-Landshut was not unusual in considering Latin not worth his time when he had his lands to defend. In reality, Castiglione's famed instruction for the ideal courtier did not spread quickly north of the Alps because of skepticism of its practical value.[20] Nevertheless, Duke Wilhelm III of Bavaria-Munich sensed his vulnerability as a defender of the faith

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[17] Wolfgang Weber, "Einleitung," in *Der Fürst: Ideen und Wirklichkeiten in der europäischen Geschichte*, ed., idem, 22.

[18] F. Schmidt, ed., *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen WIttelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden nebst geschitlichem Überblick und Register*, x.

[19] Hans and Marga Hall, *Die Wittelsbacher in Lebensbildern* (Styria: Friedrich Pustet, 1986), 21.

[20] F. Schmidt, ed., *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen WIttelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden nebst geschitlichem Überblick und Register*, xix. Laetitia Boehm, "Konservatismus und Modernität in der Regentenerziehung an deutschen Höfen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert," in *Humanismus und Bildungswesen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard (Weinheim: Acta Humaniora, 1985), 61–93; Klaus Ley, "Castiglione und die Höflichkeit. Zur Rezeption des Cortegiano im deutschen Sprachraum vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert," in *Beiträge zur Aufnahme der italienischen und spanischen Literatur in Deutschland im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Alberto Martino, 3–108.

when he was entrusted by Emperor Sigismund to protect the Council of Basel (1431–1449): he could not understand what the renowned scholars Nicholas of Cusa and Aenaeas Silvius Piccolomini (later Pope Pius II) and other clergy were debating because it was all in Latin. In fact, despite Heinrich of Bavaria-Landshut's contempt for Latin, his own son, Duke Ludwig of Bavaria-Landshut, founded the University of Ingolstadt in 1472. However, Ludwig still had his son Duke Georg "the Rich" of Bavaria-Landshut (1455–1503) focus on a martial education, and like the Emperor Maximilian I, Georg continued to love hunting and knightly culture, although the German Renaissance poet Conrad Celtis praised him primarily as a 'protector' of arts and sciences, not lands.[21]

The continuing dichotomy between a 'secular' education concentrating on martial skills and a clerical education influenced by Italian Renaissance humanism is evident in the career of Duke Albrecht IV "the Wise" of Bavaria (r. 1460–1508). His elder sister Margarete married the Margrave Frederico I Gonzaga of Mantua. It was probably through this connection that Albrecht IV and his brothers Christoph and Wolfgang were able to pursue studies in Italy as part of their preparation for the clergy.[22] Because of premature deaths within the family, Albrecht became the ruling heir and earned the epithet "the Wise" because of his unusually advanced education for a secular ruler and his establishment of primogenitor for the Bavarian Wittelsbachs.[23] However, Albrecht was still the exception to the rule for humanist education and was sensitive about it. For example, Albrecht sacked the castle of the knight Gewolf von Degenberg in revenge for Degenberg's scornful reference to him as a "scholar or a scribe."[24]

Still, mirror of prince literature by such Italian scholars as Piccolomini and Vergerio began to make a more permanent impact on

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[21] F. Schmidt, ed., *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen WIttelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden nebst geschitlichem Überblick und Register*, xix–xxii.

[22] Ibid., xxvi–xvii.

[23] For Albrecht IV and primogenitor, see Stefan Weinfurter, "Die Einheit Bayerns. Zur Primogeniturordnung des Herzogs Albrecht IV. von 1506," in *Festgabe Heinz Hürten zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Harald Dickerhof (Frankfurt: P. Lang, 1988), 225–242.

[24] F. Schmidt, ed., *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden nebst geschitlichem Überblick und Register*, xxvi–xvii.

secular rulers in German-speaking lands, including the Wittelsbachs.[25] In fact, before the Wittelsbach dispute over the electoral title merged with confessional differences, the Wittelsbach rivalry had been a motivation for both sides to introduce Renaissance humanism from Italy into their courts. Paradoxically, this led to the creation of new shared humanist values among the Wittelsbachs that proved capable of reconciling dynastic differences. The Emperor Charles IV's instruction in the Golden Bull of 1356 about educating the electoral princes in foreign languages (Italian and Czech) was an important factor in the development of the court tutor for both halves of the Wittelsbach dynasty as they vied for the recognition that came with the electoral title. Italian in particular became a consistent part of their educational curriculum. Likewise, marriage diplomacy assisted in increasing Wittelsbach prestige as well as introducing Italian Renaissance humanism into Germany. For example, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs married several sons to the daughters of the prominent Visconti family in Milan.[26]

Italian influence on the Palatine Wittelsbachs began under Elector Ludwig III (r. 1410–36) and his son Elector Frederick I "the Victorious" (r. 1451–76), and like their Bavarian counterparts, the Palatine branch also had many sons educated in the liberal arts as part of their clerical training. Ludwig III's son Ruprecht received a clerical education and eventually became the Archbishop of Cologne. Likewise, Ludwig III's grandson, Elector Philipp I "the Upright," (r. 1476–1508) received a humanist education under the guardianship of his uncle, Frederick I "the Victorious." Indeed, the prominent humanist Jacob Wimpfeling lauded Philipp as a well-educated prince. In 1474 Philipp married his Bavarian Wittelsbach relative, Margareta of Bavaria-Landshut, and employed the renowned humanist Johannes Reuchlin as a tutor for their sons. Two of Philipp and Margareta's sons became Bishops of Freising, although one, Count Palatine Ruprecht "the Virtuous," abandoned the clerical life and married Elisabeth, the daughter of his Bavarian Wittelsbach relative, Duke Georg "the Rich" of Bavaria-Landshut. Philipp and Margarete had their other sons, Heinrich and Wolfgang, educated at the Archbishop's court in Mainz. Wolfgang eventually became the rector of the University of Wittenberg two years

[25] Ibid., xxii.
[26] Ibid., xvii–xviii.

before Luther presented his 95 thesis at the same university in 1517.[27]

The educational careers of Elector Ottheinrich (r. 1556–1559) and his younger brother Count Philipp of Palatinate-Neuburg (1503–1548) demonstrate that before the confessional split, the Wittelsbachs had proven capable of reconciling inheritance disputes through dynastic intermarriage and shared values stemming from a humanist education. Their father, Ruprecht "the Virtuous" had been an important figure in the Bavarian War of 1504. The Bavarian War began after the death of his father-in-law, Duke Georg of Bavaria-Landshut, when Ruprecht attempted to keep his father-in-law's inheritance which Georg had bestowed on Ruprecht and Elisabeth. According to Wittelsbach custom and treaty, it should have gone to Georg's cousin, Duke Albrecht IV of Bavaria-Munich. The ensuing war wreaked havoc on the Palatine lands.[28] Nevertheless, in 1529 reconciliation occurred when Ottheinrich married the daughter of Albrecht IV, Susanna of Bavaria.

Ottheinrich's and Philipp's educational experiences also underscore the shared Wittelsbach heritage in a liberal arts education that often included close ties between the Palatine and Bavarian Wittelsbach branches as well as the papacy and the Habsburg dynasty before the age of confessionalization. When the Palatine Wittelsbachs converted to Protestantism, their relationship with their Catholic Bavarian cousins and the Catholic Habsburgs deteriorated while the Bavarian Wittelsbachs' relationship with the Habsburgs increased. Thus, Philipp's and Ottheinrich's early lives markedly demonstrate the possibilities of Wittelsbach dynastic cooperation before the confessional split. As youths, Ottheinrich and Philipp were under the guardianship of their uncle, Elector Frederick II (r. 1544–1556). Frederick II was the fourth son of Elector Philipp I "the Upright" and Margarata of Bavaria-Landshut. At the time of guardianship, Frederick II had not yet alienated his Bavarian relatives by inaugurating the Protestant Reformation in Heidelberg. Also, Ottheinrich and Philipp received tutoring from a former professor of jurisprudence at the university sponsored by their Bavarian relations, the University of Ingolstadt. Their court tutor even instructed them from the grammar book of Luther's future supporter, Philipp Melanchthon, as well from Erasmus's *The Education of a*

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[27] F. Schmidt, ed., *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden,* xiii–xx.

[28] For a detailed study see Waltraut Hruschka, "König Maximilian I. und die bayerisch-pfälzischen Erbfolgehandel von 1503–1507" (Ph.D. diss., University of Graz, 1961).

Christian Prince. As part of his educational experience in 1520, Philipp visited the papal court of the pope who excommunicated Luther, Leo X, after receiving letters of recommendation from the Habsburg Emperor Charles V. Philipp repaid the Emperor's kindness by gaining fame defending Habsburg Vienna in 1529 against the Turks.[29]

The Palatine Elector Frederick III (r. 1559–1576), from the younger Palatinate-Simmern line, succeeded the childless Ottheinrich as Palatine Elector and his education represents the last of the shared Renaissance cultural experience between both halves of the Wittelsbach dynasty. Frederick III had a reputation for being a well-learned prince and had been raised a Catholic, including a stay at the court of Lorraine in Nancy as part of his education. He also 'earned his spurs' fighting in a crusade led by the Habsburg Emperor Charles V against the Turks.[30] Thus, before Frederick III converted first to Lutheranism and then to a hybrid form of Calvinism, his ties with the Catholic houses of Lorraine and Habsburg symbolized how much both halves of the Wittelsbach dynasty had in common in their educational experiences before the age of confessionalization.

Confessional tensions made their impact on the Protestant Palatine Wittelsbachs when it came to visiting Italy as part of their educational Grand Tour. Gone were the days when Palatine Wittelsbachs desired a visit to the papal court in Rome, accompanied with letters of support from Habsburg emperors. For instance, the court tutor who planned an itinerary for the Grand Tour in Italy of the Lutheran Count Palatine August of Sulzbach (1582–1632) remarked that one would be "happy" to leave Rome and go visit other princely courts and universities in other parts of Italy, such as Venice, where it would be "less dangerous."[31] Not just the Protestant Wittelsbachs, but many other protestant aristocrats were nervous about Rome as well and often traveled through Italy incognito because they feared falling into Catholic hands.[32] For example, in the papal court at Rome the famous Jesuit

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[29] F. Schmidt, ed., *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden,* xxi–xxii.

[30] Ibid., xxvi–xxvii.

[31] Wolfgang Philipp von Brandt, *Gutachten des Hofmeisters Wolfgang Philipp von Brandt über die italienische Reise des Prinzen August* (n.p. n.d.), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden,* ed. F. Schmidt, 298.

[32] Irene Fosi, "Conversions de voyageurs protestants dans la Rome baroque," in *The Grand Tour: adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, eds. Rainer Babel and Werner Paravicini, (Ostfieldern: Thorbecke, 2005), 576.

scholar Athanasius Kircher served as court librarian and mathematician and participated in working with converts from Protestantism during a three month stay of instruction on Catholic belief held at the *Casa dei Convertiti* (House of the Converted).[33] Indeed, Augustus of Sulzbach's elder brother, Count Palatine Wolfgang Wilhelm of Neuburg, was one of many nobles who later converted to Catholicism in the 1600s. However, it was also not unusual for Protestant visitors in Rome to reconfirm their own beliefs about the papacy. For example, the Protestant noble Ludwig of Anhalt-Köthen traveled at age 19 with his tutor to Rome in the fall of 1598 as part of his Grand Tour through Italy. His visit to Rome only convinced him further that the pope was the Antichrist. Nevertheless, it did not stop him from imitating Italian culture. Indeed, the bonds of Renaissance humanism were strong enough that Protestants continued to consider it worth the risk to travel to Italy as part of their Grand Tour.[34]

The educational instructions written for the sons of Frederick III's Bavarian relative and rival, Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria (r. 1579–1598), demonstrate the new confessional age and its concomitant dynastic considerations. For example, Wilhelm V's dynastic ambition to obtain the Palatine Electoral title caused him to have his heir, Maximilian, learn Czech from his tutor, Wenzel Petraeus of Bohemia, because in the Golden Bull, the Emperor Charles IV had advocated it for all electoral houses. Dynastic pride was also one reason why Wilhelm had Maximilian visit the court of the Habsburg Emperor Rudolf II in Prague.[35] During his stay at the University of Ingolstadt, the rector of the Jesuit College, Richard Haller, supervised Maximilian's education. At the same time the Jesuit Gregor of Valencia served as Maximilian's court confessor and had a profound influence on shaping Maximilian's rigorous sense of piety in a Castilian manner.[36] The traditional tour of Italy was part of Maximilian's younger siblings' clerical education.

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[33] Antje Stannek, "Konfessionalisierung des 'Giro d'Italia'? Protestanten im Italien des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *The Grand Tour*, eds. R. Babel and W. Paravicini, 564–565, 568; Fosi, "Conversions de voyageurs protestants dans la Rome baroque," 574.

[34] Stannek, "Konfessionalisierung des 'Giro d'Italia'? Protestanten im Italien des 17. Jahrhunderts," 560–561.

[35] Dieter Albrecht, *Maximilian I. von Bayern 1573–1651* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1998), 100, 115.

[36] F. Schmidt, ed., *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden nebst geschitlichem Überblick und Register*, iv–ivi; Albrecht, *Maximilian I von Bayern*, 289.

During their stay in Verona, the city that the Italian pedagogue Battista Guarino made famous for humanist education, the scholar Cesare Campana wrote a history of the Wittelsbach dynasty in Italian and dedicated it to them (1592). Finally, Pope Clement VIII warmly received the two at the papal court where Peter of Toledo and the Jesuit General Claudio Aquaviva supervised their studies there.[37] Thus, for the Bavarian Wittelsbachs, the educational visit to the papal court in Rome further reinforced their confessional identities as defenders of the faith.

Gottesfurcht or the "fear of God" was the common denominator of all of the educational instructions written by Wittelsbach princes in the confessional age and represents the confessionalization of Wittelsbach education: both halves of the dynasty attempted to define themselves with their revived role as defenders of the 'true' faith and, as such, the legitimate leaders of the dynasty. Although Erasmus certainly praised Solomon's wisdom in his *The Education of a Christian Prince*,[38] for the different Wittelsbach courts, Proverbs 9:10 "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom" became the shibboleth of the confessional era. For instance, Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria wrote that he explicitly wanted the tutor of his sons to begin with "planting" the "fear of God" into them through regular prayer and devotions.[39] In another instruction, Wilhelm offered a variation on the same theme:

> Since the fear of God is not only the beginning of wisdom, but also of all grace itself…out of which all virtues…also temporal and eternal well-being flow, so the tutor should be diligent and strive to the best of his ability so that our sons are eager for the Kingdom of God…[40]

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[37] F. Schmidt, ed., *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden nebst geschitlichem Überblick und Register*, iv–ivi, ixiii–ixiv.

[38] Desiderius Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, trans. Neil Cheshire and ed. Lisa Jardine, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, eds. Reymond Geuss and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 2; all further quotes from Erasmus will come from this edition.

[39] Wilhelm V, *Bevelch und Instruktion auf beder unser genedigen Herrn Herzog Maximilian und Herzog Philipsen etc. Hofmeistern und Preceptorn gestellt* (Munich, 3 January, 1584), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 28.

[40] Wilhelm V, *Unser von Gottes genaden Wilhelm,…Instruction unnd bevelche für unnsern Rathe und Lieben getreuen unnserer geliebten Söhne, Herzog Maximilian unnd Herzog Philipsen, hofmeister Wilhelmen Schlüderer von Lachen insonderheit gestelt* (Munich: 3 January, 1584), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 41.

Erasmus's mirror of prince reflects many of the same teachings about piety that the Italian Renaissance humanists had been expounding from the beginning. For example, in Pier Paulo Vergerio's famous educational treatise *The Character and Studies Befitting a Free-Born Youth* (ca. 1402–1403), Vergerio stated that "above all, however, it is proper for a well-educated youth to respect and practice religion and to be steeped in religious belief from his earliest youth."[41] Likewise, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (future Pope Pius II) in his educational treatise dedicated to Ladislas V, King of Hungary and Bohemia, remarked "You are succeeding to men of noble rank: take care that you become likewise their heir in virtue. Nobility clothed in holy morals is deserving of praise."[42] Both texts from Piccolomini and Vergerio were also well known in Germany and we know for certain that Ulrich Greimold von Weilheim, who served as tutor for the sons of Duke Albrecht III of Bavaria, employed Piccolomini's mirror of prince.[43] However, following the Peace of Augsburg, the shared Renaissance paradigm of princely piety became confessionalized as both late Renaissance scholars and Wittelsbach princes began to claim that only one confession was capable of cultivating piety and, hence, good rule. Ultimately, the confessional tensions between the Wittelsbachs, deriving from a revived chivalric idea of dynastic glory wedded with confessional sanction, helped spark the Thirty Years' War. Ironically, this potential for conflict was exactly what Erasmus attempted to prevent in *The Education of a Christian Prince*. As James D. Tracy states concerning Erasmus's intentions for writing this treatise and dedicating it to the young Habsburg prince Charles: "many wars could be traced to inflated conceptions of princely honour, which in turn, it seemed, had kinship with chivalric

[41] Pier Paulo Vergerio, *The Character and Studies Befitting a Free-Born Youth*, in *Humanist Educational Treatises* transl. and ed. Craig W. Kallendorf, Latin and English Texts, The I Tatti Renaissance Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 19.

[42] Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *The Education of Boys*, in *Humanisit Educational Treatises*, transl. and ed. Craig W. Kallendorf, 127.

[43] F. Schmidt, ed., *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen WIttelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden nebst geschitlichem Überblick und Register*, xxii; August Buck, "Humanistische Bildung. Enea Silvio Piccolomini an Herzog Sigismund von Österreich," in *Interpretation. Das Paradigma der europäischen Renaissanceliteratur*, eds. K.W. Hempfer and G. Regn (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1983), 394–404.

ideals. Hence the concern of the *Institutio Principis* was not to build on what Charles had been taught but to undo it."[44]

In the attempt to raise pious rulers, the Wittelsbachs went beyond Erasmus's original ideas about princely pedagogy by converting his educational maxims into the maximum expression of confessionalized leadership. For this reason, an in depth examination of key themes taken from Erasmus is necessary for understanding the creation of Wittelsbach confessional identity. Erasmus emphasized that a reigning prince's primary duty was ensuring that his heir would rule well: "the chief responsibility of a good prince is this, to see to it there cannot be a bad one."[45] He also stressed that it was critical that a Christian prince ensure that his successor received a humanist education while he was young so that the prince could develop the virtues necessary to be a good ruler:

> No other time is so suitable for molding and improving the prince as when he does not yet understand that he is the prince. This time will therefore have to be carefully employed, so that not only will he be kept away from evil influences for that period but he will also be imbued with some positively good principles.[46]

The Wittelsbachs did ensure that their sons received a humanist education by qualified court tutors known as *Hofmeister*. It is also clear from the Wittelsbach educational instructions that the primary concern of the ruling princes was to make certain that their heirs could fulfill their distinctly confessional dynastic destinies.

"No comet, no fateful power affects the progress of human affairs in the way that the life of a prince grips and transforms the moral attitudes and character of his subjects."[47] This comment by Erasmus seemed all the more pertinent in the age of confessionalization wherein the Wittelsbach rulers went beyond Erasmus by often con-

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[44] James D. Tracy, *The Politics of Erasmus: A Pacifist Intellectual and his Political Milieu* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 62; despite Erasmus's intent, the influence of dynastic chivalric honor on Charles V remained, see James D. Tracy, *Emperor Charles V, Impresario of War: Campaign Strategy, International Finance, and Domestic Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 23–28, 36–38, 316.

[45] Erasmus, 6.

[46] Ibid.; see also Jerold Siegel, "*Virtù* in and since the Renaissance," in *Dictionary of the History of Ideas: Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas* 4:476–486 (New York: Scribners, 1973).

[47] Erasmus, 21.

sidering adherents to different confessions as not just doctrinally deviant, but morally deviant as well.[48] Furthermore, Erasmus stated that "although some hope of developing a good prince lies in changed behavior and the control of feelings, nevertheless the chief hope is in correct beliefs."[49] He was talking about the power of the conscience to check behavior, but the Wittelsbach princes could also find support in Erasmus's remarks for a confessional connection between doctrinal purity and moral purity.

Despite the interconfessional continuity of the ideal God-fearing prince who was a product of zealous institutional instruction, the idea that only one confession had the proper formula for the ideal Christian prince prevailed during the confessional age. For example, Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria (r. 1579–1598) told the tutors of his sons that they had to be instructed in the post Tridentine Catholic faith for them to be genuine God-fearing princes:

> Since outside of the holy catholic apostolic Roman religion there is no salvation nor happiness, no correct baptism nor true sacrament…so our sons…should make it their business to avoid temporal and eternal punishment and abstain from anything that is contrary to our religion inherited in a legitimate and orderly succession…[50]

Erasmus stated that "it is not enough just to hand out the sort of maxims which warn him of evil things and summon him to the good. No they must be fixed in his mind, pressed in, and rammed home."[51] Although from the context it is clear that Erasmus meant moral principles in a general sense learned from the biblical and classical pasts, the Wittelsbach princes were able to make these confessionally

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[48] For the connection between Erasmus and early modern perceptions between education, morals and religion, see Han van Ruler, "The *Philosophia Christi*, its Echoes and its Repercussions on Virtue and Nobility," in *Christian Humanism: Essays in Honour of Arjo Vanderjagt*, eds., Alasdair MacDonald et al (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2009), 235–241.

[49] Erasmus, 54.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid., 10; in the Latin, Erasmus refers to the need of having these teachings "inculcated" into the prince, see lines 143–148 on page 140 in Otto Herding's edition of *Institutio Principis Christiani* found in *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterdami*, vol. 4, section 1 (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1969–): *Neque satis est huivsmodi decreta tradere, quae vel a turpibus avocant vel invitent ad honesta: infigenda sunt, infulcienda sunt, inculcanda sunt et alia atque alia forma renouando memoriae, nunc sentential nunc fabella nunc simili nunc exemplo nunc apophthegmate nunc proverbio; insculpenda anulis, appingenda tabulis, ascribenda stemmatis, et si quid aliud est, quo aetas ea dele/ctatur, vt vndique sint obvia etiam aliud agenti.*

oriented. Erasmus even offered the template for how princely virtues were to be inculcated into the young ruler:

> What must be implanted deeply and before all else in the mind of the prince is the best possible understanding of Christ; he should be constantly absorbing his teachings, gathered together in some convenient form drawn from the original sources themselves, from which the teaching is imbibed not only more purely but also more effectively.[52]

For the Wittelsbach princes, the "convenient forms" were those that served as hallmarks for the confessional age: sermons, catechisms, and church ceremonies. Indeed, Erasmus himself composed a catechism that the Bavarian Wittelsbachs employed.[53] Nevertheless, the Wittelsbach's emphasis on these particular forms of devotion serves as a classic example of where Erasmus's ideas were taken beyond his original intentions. For example, Erasmus warned:

> Do not think that Christ is found in mere ceremonies, that is in precepts no longer seriously observed, and in the institutions of the church. Who is a true Christian? Not just someone who is baptized or confirmed or who goes to mass rather it is someone who has embraced Christ in the depths of his heart and who expresses this by acting in a Christian spirit.[54]

It is clear from the Wittelsbach educational instructions that the Wittelsbach princes, like most in the confessional age, believed that the institutional church offered valuable resources to assist the prince in making this desired inward transformation; indeed, this is one of the underlying assumptions of the confessional age. Likewise, Piccolomini (Pope Pius II) anticipated the confessional age in his educational treatise on the value of institutional instruction for the development of piety: "We trust that you were instructed as befits a Christian, that you know the Lord's Prayer, the *Ave Maria*, the Gospel of John, the Creed…"[55] An example of this optimism about institutional instruction

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[52] Ibid., 13.

[53] E. Paul, "Humanismus und Barock," in *Handbuch der Bayerischen Geschichte*, ed. Max Spindler, 2d edition (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1987), 561; for the practical nature of Erasmus' pedagogical principles, see J.K. Sowards, "Erasmus as a Practical Educational Reformer," in *Erasmus of Rotterdam: The Man and the Scholar*, eds. J. Sperna Weiland and W. Frijhoff, 123–129.

[54] Erasmus, 18; Cornelius Augustijn, *Erasmus. Der Humanist als Theologe und Kirchenreformer* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), 85.

[55] Piccolomini, 163.

is evident in an educational instruction in which Wilhelm V mentioned that his sons should attend church services and be quizzed on the content of the sermons. He also wanted them to repeat the *Ave Maria* mornings and evenings as well engage in pilgrimages to traditional sites in Bavaria, receive instructions in the Canisian Catechisms, and an understanding of the "glorious and beautiful ceremonies and church customs."[56]

The power struggle associated with the education of the future Palatine Elector Frederick IV demonstrates how the confessionalized educational experience caused considerable friction within the Palatine branch of the dynasty as Palatine identity and legitimacy hung on the balance of confessional perceptions. The Lutheran Palatine Elector Ludwig VI (r. 1576–83) hoped to reverse the Calvinist trend in the Palatinate that his father, Elector Frederick III (r. 1559–1576) initiated. He had already been raised as a Lutheran when his father converted to Calvinism. Likewise, his resolve to remain Lutheran was also strengthened by his staunchly Lutheran wife, Elisabeth of Hesse. Ludwig VI looked to his late Lutheran uncle Elector Ottheinrich as his model and considered his efforts as a restoration of this 'traditional' order. As part of his 'restorative' efforts, Ludwig VI had given his future heir, Frederick IV, Lutheran preceptors and *Hofmeister*. For *Hofmeister* he chose two Lutheran Imperial Knights, Philipp Adam von Dienheim and later Hans Christoph von Venningen. The head preceptor, Joachim Strupp, was also a court doctor and librarian and had been previously active in Saxony and Hesse-Darmstadt. Under his direction was a second preceptor, Andreas Pancratius, the son of a Lutheran cleric. Likewise, Ludwig VI's Lutheran court preacher, Johann Schechsius, also became involved in Frederick IV's education.[57]

In one instruction, Ludwig VI instructed Panacratius to instill within his son, the future Elector Frederick IV, the "fear of God," and "princely virtues" as found in "our true Christian religion," explicated in the Augsburg Confession and Martin Luther's Catechism, and propounded from the pulpit in sermons, which his son should not

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[56] Wilhelm V, *Bevelch und Instruktion auf beder unser genedigen Herrn Herzog Maximilian und Herzog Philipsen etc. Hofmeistern und Preceptorn gestellt* (Munich, 3 January, 1584), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 29–31.

[57] Volker Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat. Regierung und Zentralbehörden der Kurpfalz 1559–1619* (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1970), 267–268, 271–293, 369.

only attend, but also be quizzed on afterwards.[58] Likewise, in his testament, Ludwig VI stated that his children should remain with their mother in Heidelberg and be educated as Lutherans. For example, when Frederick IV reached the age of 11 he was supposed to continue having a Lutheran *Hofmeister* and preceptor and not be sent to any foreign court or university.[59] However, the fruits of Ludwig VI's labors to protect his son from Calvinism did not last long.

After Ludwig VI's death, his brother Count Palatine Johann Casimir of Simmern, a Calvinist, became regent for Frederick IV and ignored his brother's testament, just as his brother had ignored their father's. According to the Golden Bull, Johann Casimir was to serve as guardian for his nine year old nephew until he was 18 which meant that he had considerable opportunity to influence the values of Frederick IV and restore Calvinism's place within the electoral Palatinate. Indeed, dramatic changes occurred when Casimir became regent for Frederick IV. Not least of these were the education policies for Frederick IV to make him into a Calvinist prince.

In 1584, Casimir chose the nobleman Otto von Grünrade as *Hofmeister*. Grünrade had converted to Calvinism after first being a Philippist, who had studied theology and philosophy at Leipzig and Wittenberg. At the same time, Casimir brought in Georg Michael Lingelsheim as preceptor. Lingelsheim was the son of a Calvinist schoolmaster from Strasbourg. He had studied law at Heidelberg and Basel and as preceptor concentrated on Frederick IV's religious education, as well as Latin and French. In fact, Lingelsheim became part of the late Renaissance poetic circle and was more of a moderate rather than a militant Calvinist. As a second *Hofmeister*, Casimir called in Georg Ludwig von Hutten, who was an Imperial Knight that had previously engaged in humanistic studies at the University of Heidelberg and Italy. He even came from the same Franconian family that earlier had produced the renowned German humanist, Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523). Also, Casimir appointed Bartholomäus Pitiscus from Grünberg in Silesia as a second preceptor for Frederick IV to share duties with Lingelsheim. Pitiscus was a Calvinist mathematician and theologian who had studied theology at Zerbst and Heidelberg. All

[58] Ludwig VI to Andreas Pancrasius (Heidelberg, 1581), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 58.
[59] Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, 294–295.

of these tutors were intent on turning Frederick IV into a Calvinist and protecting him from outside influences. Hutten was particularly influential on Frederick's knightly education, an experience which gave him a love of hunting and wine, but offered him little experience in the affairs of state. Thus, even when Frederick did come of age, much of the defense of Calvinism in the Palatinate was in the hands of his advisors, who kept Frederick occupied with hunting wild animals rather than political rivals.[60]

Although Johann Casimir died only two months before Frederick IV turned 18, Casimir's uncle, Count Palatine Reichard of Simmern, managed to find a document by the late medieval Emperor Sigismund in order to claim that Frederick IV had the right to the electoral vote, but not the legal grounds to govern the territory until he was 25. At the burial of Johann Casimir, Reichard of Simmern claimed his right to be the territorial guardian.[61] Reichard's sudden efforts were similar to the Pirate King's efforts in Gilbert and Sullivan's comic opera *Pirates of Penzance* to claim that his apprentice Frederick could not leave his service even though he turned 21, because according to leap year calculations, he was only 5 years old. Reichard's assertion was actually another challenge to Calvinism in the Palatinate because Reichard never converted to Calvinism like his brother, Elector Frederick III. Instead, he remained a staunch Philippist and at his court at Simmern he had harbored former Lutheran officials of Ludwig VI. Frederick IV's *Hofmeister*, Grünrade, led the defense against Reichard's attempts. At one point Reichard actually sent troops into the Electoral Palatinate and Frederick IV's main advisors responded by bringing in Count Johann VI of Nassau-Dillenburg with an army. In the end peace was maintained thanks to the Emperor Rudolf II's rejection of Reichard's claim in 1594 because Rudolf did not want to jeopardize Palatine military support at a time when a Turkish threat in Hungary appeared imminent.[62]

When he became Elector, Frederick IV (r. 1592–1610) planned on ensuring that his heir, Frederick V, would continue the Calvinist reformation in the electoral Palatinate. In Frederick V's early years, Kunigunde, the wife of the court advisor Wolrad von Plessen and of

[60] Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, 322, 370–374, 385–386.
[61] Ibid., 374–375.
[62] Ibid., 374–389.

the Dutch nobility, supervised his education. In 1602 the Huguenot court secretary, Zacharias Kolb, became his preceptor.[63] Frederick IV instructed Zacharias Kolb to drill his son in "our true Christian religion" so that he would be well-grounded in the "prophetical" and "apostolic" writings and thus ensure that good "customs," "discipline," and *Gottesfurcht* would be "planted" within the prince.[64] In 1603, Frederick IV wrote a second instruction to Frederick V's *Hofmeister*, Hans Konrad von Wonsheim, which also mentioned the importance of sermons and the Eucharist.[65]

An educational instruction plan for the young Frederick V of the Palatinate in 1604 epitomizes the common view among the elite that the moral conduct of a prince affected the whole populace: "someone who corrupts a child of middling social stand, the same only pours poison into a glass; however, someone who corrupts a young prince, the same throws poison into a well which flows through the common ground from which a whole fatherland drinks."[66] Erasmus made a very similar comment when discussing the importance of choosing tutors of high moral standing for princes:

> Just as someone who poisons the public fountain from which everybody drinks deserves the severest punishment, so someone who implants in a prince's mind perverted ideas, which will eventually be the ruin of a great many people, is the most vicious of men.[67]

The former statement by Erasmus about the power of flatterers to morally corrupt a prince also sheds light on the confessionalization of humanism because confessional differences were frequently perceived as moral differences as well. Thus, although Erasmus had remarked that "it is the mark of a Christian prince to consider no one a foreigner except those who are strangers to the sacraments of Christ,"[68] the Wittelsbach princes were convinced that all those who adhered to different confessional interpretations of what constituted Christ's sacraments were in essence foreigners—even within their own

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[63] Ibid., 488.

[64] Friedrich IV to Zacharias Kolb (Heidelberg, 1602, 1603), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 62.

[65] Friedrich IV to Hans Konrad von Wonsheim (Heidelberg, 1603), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 64.

[66] *Unterrichtungsplan für den Prinzen Friedrich* (n.p., 6 March 1604), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 304.

[67] Erasmus, 11.

[68] Ibid., 78.

dynasty. Indeed, "communion" and "community" were intimately connected.[69]

Just as Frederick IV's own minority opened up internal dynastic contentions over confessionalized identity and control, so too the minority for his son, Frederick V, poignantly demonstrates the growing chasm between the Lutheran and Calvinist Palatine branches. In 1601, when he was only 28 years old, Frederick IV appeared to be on his deathbed because of his alcoholism. The ensuing struggle for the regency over his son Frederick V reveals how internal confessional tensions could create dynastic identity crises, which weakened the Palatine Wittelsbachs efforts for dynastic harmony within Protestantism.

At the time of Frederick IV's illness, his son Frederick V was quite young and his father's court advisors quickly prepared to defend the Calvinist confessionalization in the electoral Palatinate against another Lutheran Palatine relative. In this case it was the Count Palatine Philipp Ludwig of Neuburg who, unlike Reichard's earlier claim, clearly had the right to be regent according to the Golden Bull because he was the next agnate. On what appeared to be his deathbed, Frederick IV's top advisors supervised Frederick IV's first testament and hoped to trump Philipp Ludwig's claim to be regent by declaring in the testament that Philipp Ludwig's younger brother, the Calvinist Count Palatine Johann I of Zweibrücken and his line should be the regents. Johann I came to Heidelberg castle and officially swore that he would protect the religious settlement of Frederick IV and not install any theologian who championed ideas contrary to Frederick IV's Calvinist views. He also promised to acknowledge Frederick IV's wish that his children be under the care and tutelage of his wife Louise-Juliana, the Calvinist daughter of William of Orange. Philipp Ludwig's resistance to this attempt prompted a second testament in 1603 although Frederick IV did not actually die until 1610. With Frederick IV's death, Philipp Ludwig renewed his claim as regent; however, Frederick IV's court advisor, Christian von Anhalt, appealed to Emperor Rudolf II, who refused to either approve of the testamentary change or enforce Philipp Ludwig's claim, which ultimately saved the Calvinist reformation in the electoral Palatinate.[70]

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[69] For the relationship between "Communion" and "Community," see David Sabean, "Communion and Community: The Refusal to attend the Lord's Supper in the Sixteenth Century," in *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture & Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany*, id., 37–60 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

[70] Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, 420–427, 458–480.

In his final educational instruction before he passed away, Frederick IV emphasized the importance of sermons accompanied by quizzes and the Eucharist for establishing good Christian virtues in his son.[71] Following the death of Frederick IV, the son of Johann I, Count Palatine Johann II of Zweibrücken, became the regent for Frederick V and, like Johann Casimir had done earlier, Johann II ensured Calvinist continuity in the electorship. Besides approving of Frederick V's long stay at the academy of Frederick's uncle, the Huguenot leader Duke Henri Bouillon of Sedan,[72] Johann II also revealed his concern about confessional continuity in his educational instruction to the tutor of Frederick V. The tutor was to ensure that Frederick V not only understood that "honor and fear of God" were the "beginning of wisdom," but also make sure that Frederick V engaged in prayers, read the holy scriptures, attended sermons, and avoided laziness "which is the source of all troubles."[73]

The Count Palatine Philipp Ludwig of Neuburg (r. 1569–1609) did not manage to obtain the regency for the Electoral Palatinate, but he did write confessionally constructed educational instructions for his heirs in an attempt to maintain confessional continuity within the Lutheran tradition against the inroads of Calvinism. Already in 1560, Philipp Ludwig's father, Count Palatine Wolfgang of Zweibrücken (r. 1532–1569), warned the tutor of Philipp Ludwig that he had to protect the future heir from sects that would lead him astray and to especially warn him of papal "idolatry."[74] A decade after the Electoral Palatinate turned Calvinist, Philipp Ludwig of Neuburg succeeded his father and admonished the tutor of his successor with the same protective warnings. He remarked how the most important duties of the *Hofmeister* were to inculcate princely virtues as declared in the "true Christian religion" found in the Augsburg Confession and to guard the prince

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[71] Friedrich IV to Achasius Burggraf und Herr von Dohna (Heidelberg, 1607), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 68.

[72] Harmut Kretzer, *Calvinismus und französische Monarchie im 17. Jahrhundert: die politische Lehre der Akademien Sedan und Saumer, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Pierre Du Moulin, Moyse Amyraut und Pierre Jurieu* (Berlin: Duncker & Humbolt, 1975).

[73] Johann II von Zweibrücken to Hans Meinhard von Schönburg (Nürnberg, 1611), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 73.

[74] Wolfgang von Neuburg to Petrus Agricola (Neuburg, 1561), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 34.

against differing opinions and sects.[75] Later in 1595, Philipp Ludwig told the tutor of his other two sons that it was his responsibility to not let the princes be "stained" by "false teachings," and "misleading opinions," "no matter what they are called."[76] Three years later, Philipp Ludwig told his sons' tutor that if the sons were invited to either a wedding or baptism performed in a papal or Calvinist manner, they were to politely decline the invitation.[77] In the first of the two instructions given during the same year, Philipp Ludwig offered details about what the tutor should say when declining an invitation:

> So if our sons are also implored or solicited to attend the mass and papal ceremonies, you should with mild modesty excuse yourself and properly request with an announcement that they were born and raised in a different religion, according to God's word, also that their lords have received from us as their father and lord an explicit and earnest command, that they be kept away from the papal mass and ceremonies.[78]

Philipp Ludwig's educational instructions are replete with references to a specifically Lutheran perspective on the education of the ideal Christian prince that would lead to a "true fear of God."[79] Besides insisting that his sons attend sermons and be drilled afterwards for their content, the instructor was also to emphasize the teachings of the "true Christian and only saving religion" that adhered to the "unchanged" Augsburg Confession, the 1580 Formula of Concord, and Luther's Catechism.[80] In a second instruction three years later, Philipp Ludwig stressed the importance of using the published church ordinances to

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[75] Philip Ludwig von Neuburg to Pancratius Stiber (Neuburg, 1573), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 36.

[76] Philip Ludwig von Neuburg to Kaspar Heuchelin (Neuburg, 1595), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 96.

[77] Philip Ludwig von Neuburg to Wolf Phillip von Brandt (Neuburg, 1598), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 100–101; Pfalzgraf Phillip Ludwig von Neuburg to Wolf Phillip von Brandt (Neuburg, 1598), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 104.

[78] Phillip Ludwig von Neuburg to Wolf Phillip von Brandt (Neuburg, 1598), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 100–101.

[79] Philip Ludwig von Neuburg to Kaspar Heuchelin (Neuburg, 1595), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 96.

[80] Ibid.; Lyle D. Bierma, *The Doctrine of the Sacraments in the Heidelberg Catechism: Melanchthonian, Calvinist, or Zwinglian?* (Princeton: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1999), 41–42.

ensure that the young prince was properly instructed on the necessary virtues for good government.[81]

The conversion to Catholicism of Philipp Ludwig's son and successor, Wolfgang Wilhelm, in 1613 underscores the limitations of confessionalized humanism. Despite being shielded from Catholics and receiving a rigorous Lutheran education, Count Palatine Wolfgang Wilhelm of Neuburg (r. 1609–1653) converted to Catholicism as an adult. Both Wolfgang Wilhelm's personal convictions as well as the prospects of inheriting the Jülich-Cleve duchies influenced this decision.[82] He cemented his conversion by marrying Magdalena, the sister of Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria. Wolfgang Wilhelm's conversion to Catholicism not only offered closer contacts with the Bavarian Wittelsbachs and the Catholic Baroque, it also gave him two new tools to assist him in protecting his son from foreign influences: the court confessor and the Index of Forbidden Books.

The use of both the court confessor and the Index of Forbidden Books could have been influenced from a confessionalized reading of Erasmus's mirror of prince. For example, Erasmus regretted that the royal confessor was no longer the bulwark it once was against flatterers attempting to morally corrupt the prince: "There used to be one sheet-anchor remaining, but even that is now unreliable: I mean of course those whom the common people call 'royal confessors.'"[83] There was not a consensus among the Jesuits on whether or not court confessors should advise princes on political matters precisely because many people in this age assumed a direct correlation between the moral, religious and political values of the prince.[84] Erasmus himself also certainly recognized the power of books to influence thought and behavior: "But first, indeed, comes the selection of authors, for it matters a great deal what books a boy reads and absorbs first. Bad conversation defiles the mind, and bad reading no less. For those silent letters are transformed into conduct and feelings."[85]

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[81] Philip Ludwig von Neuburg to Wolf Phillip von Brandt (Neuburg, 1598), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 100.

[82] Hans Schmidt, "Pfalz-Neuburgs Sprung zum Niederrhein. Wolfgang Wilhelm von Pfalz-Neuburg und der Jülich-Klevische Erbfolgestreit," in *Um Glauben und Reich*, ed. H. Glaser, 77–88.

[83] Erasmus, 57; for Erasmus's concern about Charles V's confessor, see James D. Tracy, *Erasmus of the Low Countries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 122.

[84] Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War*, 268–270.

[85] Erasmus, 61.

Although the fear of contaminating their sons meant that the Wittelsbachs often attempted to shield their sons from each other, the forest served as a common or neutral ground for both halves of the Wittelsbach dynasty in the confessional age. Hunting continued to be the favorite form of recreation for both halves of the Wittelsbach dynasty and neither the Renaissance nor the Protestant and Catholic Reformations could undermine this medieval tradition. Indeed, the pleadings and rationales used by several Wittelsbach children to recreate in the woods also demonstrate their ability to employ Renaissance educational values for the purposes of youth rather than study.[86]

Hunting and other forms of recreation were intended by Renaissance pedagogues to serve primarily as forms of physical and mental rejuvenation so that youth could devote greater energy to their studies. For example, in Pier Paulo Vergerio's *The Character and Studies Befitting a Free-Born Youth*, Vergerio stated that "a devotion to hunting, fowling, and fishing" were things that "refresh the spirit with great delight."[87] Likewise, Vergerio added a classical metaphor: "for the muscle which is always stretched taut usually breaks if it is not sometimes relaxed…"[88] As a youth, the Bavarian Duke Wilhelm V wrote several letters to his father with the intent of assuring him that he devoted just as much energy to his studies as he did to hunting.[89] In one letter he justified his hunting activities by mentioning that Ovid and Aristotle considered recreation as "necessary" for life. He also added the classical metaphor which states that for a bow to keep functioning it cannot always be taut.[90] However, judging from the contents of all his letters, Wilhelm V as a young man believed that studies and recreation ought to share at least equal time. That Wilhelm V could not escape karma is evident

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[86] For more examples of the ideal versus the real see also Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986); Rebecca Bushnell, *A Culture of Teaching: Early Modern Humanism in Theory and Practice* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

[87] Vergerio, 85.

[88] Ibid., 89.

[89] Wilhelm V to Albrecht V (Munich, 24 August 1558), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden nebst geschitlichem Überblick und Register*, ed. F. Schmidt, 225; Wilhelm to Albrecht V (Munich, 8 May 1559), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden nebst geschitlichem Überblick und Register*, ed. F. Schmidt, 226–227.

[90] Wilhelm V to Albrecht V (Munich, 1 June 1560), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden nebst geschitlichem Überblick und Register*, ed. F. Schmidt, 228.

from a letter from his sons to him and his wife Renata when they used a modified version of the bow metaphor that their father had once used to plead his cause for hunting.[91]

Knowing the shared love of hunting among the Wittelsbachs, in 1589 the Lutheran Count Palatine Philipp Ludwig of Neuburg invited his Catholic Bavarian relatives, sons of Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria and Renata of Lorraine, on a hunting trip in his territory. The encounter in the woods had all the warmth of a good will gesture between heads of state during the Cold War. The event took place just one year after the Cologne War (1583–1588) had heightened interconfessional tensions throughout the Empire. Wilhelm V and Renata's sons recounted their experience in letters sent to their parents, and besides details of the hunt itself, the letters also contain commentary about their relatives. Their son Maximilian (future duke and elector) remarked that Philipp Ludwig was a gracious host and even provided them a room to perform mass. He also noted that Philipp Ludwig would only converse about hunting or other topics, but not religion. However, Maximilian did mention that there was a dispute between the Bavarian and Palatine preachers. Maximilian claimed that his confessor, the Jesuit Gregor of Valencia, silenced the Palatine preacher with his persuasive argument.[92] Also, in the account of Philipp Wilhelm, Maximilian's brother, the Palatine Count did broach the subject of religion one time when they were riding together. Philipp Ludwig had remarked that the Catholics had a "new" order, probably referring to the Jesuits, and the Bavarian side retorted that the order was as old as Luther's "new" religion and strove to preserve the "ancient" Catholic faith, unlike Luther.[93]

Although seeking legitimacy by reference to the past was both a medieval and a Renaissance characteristic, this meeting in the woods also sheds light on the confessionalization of Renaissance humanism. For example, Philipp Wilhelm also stated that they greeted each

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[91] Philipp Wilhelm, Ferdinand, and Karl to Wilhelm V and Renathe (n.p. n.d.), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden nebst geschitlichem Überblick und Register*, ed. F. Schmidt, 266.

[92] Maximilian I to Wilhelm V and Renata (Ingolstadt, 14 July 1589), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden nebst geschitlichem Überblick und Register*, ed. F. Schmidt, 254–255.

[93] Philipp Wilhelm to Wilhelm V and Renata (Ingolstadt, 14 July 1589), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden nebst geschitlichem Überblick und Register*, ed. F. Schmidt, 285.

other in Latin and claimed that the Palatine Count's son preferred to respond to questions in Latin rather than offer them, implying that the Palatine's active recall of Latin grammar was not as good as his own.[94] This comment, along with Maximilian's reference about the power of his Jesuit confessor to refute the Palatine pastor's argument, are a reflection of the confessionalized views of Renaissance humanist education that sought to employ classical rhetoric and literature in order to better defend the faith.[95] Very audible reflections of these efforts were in sermons, and the Count Palatine had offered his guests the opportunity to hear a sermon which they declined. Indeed, Philipp Wilhelm wrote to his parents that he would rather be "hacked to pieces" than "listen to their preaching or blasphemy."[96] Nevertheless, the joint participation in the hunting activity in the woods was not without some impact on relations since it prompted Philipp Wilhelm to state that "it is too bad that our younger cousins are not Catholic because otherwise they are pious and friendly."[97] A few years after this meeting in the woods, Wilhelm V and Renata sent Philipp Wilhelm and his brother Ferdinand off to Rome to prepare them for their ecclesiastical careers.

One of the most significant cultural distinctions between the Catholic and Protestant Wittelsbachs was that only the Bavarian Wittelsbachs continued to have their younger sons destined for a career in the Catholic Church as both sides had done since the Middle Ages. This gave an advantage to the Bavarian Wittelsbachs and other Catholic dynasties who now had less competition from their Protestant relatives in offering careers for their younger sons without affecting primogenitor conceptions of inheritance. Indeed, an important reason why the Palatine Wittelsbachs continued to create cadet branches beyond the late Middle Ages was to provide for their younger sons.[98]

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[94] Ibid.

[95] Barbara Bauer, *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica' im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe* (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1986); Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[96] Philipp Wilhelm to Wilhelm V and Renathe (Ingolstadt, 14 July 1589), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden nebst geschitlichem Überblick und Register*, ed. F. Schmidt, 285.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Karl-Heinz Spiess, "Lordship, Kinship, and Inheritance among the German High Nobility in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period," in *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development (1300–1900)*, eds. Sabean et al., 60; id., "Erbteilung, dynastische Räson und transpersonale Herrschaftsvorstellungen. Die

Under Wilhelm V one form of compensation for the electoral title lost to the Palatine branch became the Bavarian Wittelsbachs' domination through nepotism of the electoral title belonging to the Archbishop of Cologne. The Bavarian Wittelsbachs monopolized this title from 1583 to 1761. Wilhelm V's brother Ernst held the position from 1583 to 1612 followed by Wilhelm V's son Ferdinand from 1612–1650.[99] Wilhelm V's father, Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, had already managed to get Ernst designated as the Canon of Salzburg when Ernst was only eleven years old, and just a little later, Albrecht V succeeded in securing the bishopric of Freising for Ernst as well. However, while still a youth, Ernst managed to escape the ascetic clerical life in Freising before being caught in Rome in 1575. In 1583 when the Cologne War began, Ernst was very reluctant to leave his lover in Freising in order to help the Wittelsbach and Catholic cause by being installed as the Archbishop of Cologne. His behavior caused his father and his brother Wilhelm considerable grief.[100]

Despite his brother's example and the late medieval continuity in maintaining bishoprics through nepotism, Wilhelm V's educational instructions for his younger sons are in essence mirror of prince literature that reflect the reforming spirit of Trent, and as such, they serve as classic examples of the ideals of the Catholic Reformation for ecclesiastical rulers. In one instruction, Wilhelm V underscored how his sons, Philipp Wilhelm and Ferdinand, should be models of piety in their offices and bring honor rather than shame to the Wittelsbach family.[101] In a second instruction Wilhelm V offered more specifics of what they needed to do for this to happen. He admonished his sons to not focus on outward appearances like those who abuse their offices by acting like secular rulers; instead, they should concentrate on

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Pfalzgrafen bei Rhein und die 'Pfalz' im späten Mittelalter," in *Die Pfalz. Probleme einer Begriffsgeschichte vom Kaiserpalast auf dem Palatin bis zum Regierungsbezirk*, ed. Franz Staab (Speyer: Verlag der Pfälzischen Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften in Speyer, 1990), 159–181; for Protestantism and primogenitor in general, see Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Protestantism and Primogeniture in Early Modern Germany* (New haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

[99] Günther von Lojewski, "Bayerns Kampf um Köln," in *Um Glauben und Reich*, ed. H. Glaser, 40–47.

[100] Ibid., 40.

[101] Wilhelm V, *Memorial oder Instruction, wie und was gestalt sich die hoch und erwürdige durchleuchtigste und hochgeborne, dem geistlichen stand ergebene junge herzogen in Baiern etc. zu Rom zu verhalten* (Munich, 1592), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 69.

the renewal of the Catholic Church: "…you will no longer be worldly princes, but prelates, wardens of the church and pastors."[102] He urged them to follow the example of St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and the contemporary example of Carlo Borromeo, the zealous Archbishop of Milan. Indeed, he warned them not to concern themselves at all with worldly glory:

> Be sure and believe me that the reputation of a spiritual prelate does not consist in clothes, servants, court followers, large incomes...nor in ceremonies and compliments like it happens with the worldly; rather, it consists far more in disdain of all these things…it consists in simplicity, prudence, humility, a life of integrity…The weapons with which you will wish, and should wish, to defend and increase your churches are those mentioned above and as St. Jerome says, 'tears and prayers.'[103]

In fact, Wilhelm V stated that being good pastors was the best way they could serve their "fatherland."[104]

Just as the clerical education of Wilhelm V's younger sons represents an important contrast between the Catholic and Protestant Wittelsbachs, the education of Wittelsbach daughters reveals an important element of discontinuity as well. The primary discontinuity is evident in that the Palatine Wittelsbachs no longer sent any of their daughters to receive an education in nunneries where they often became nuns or abbesses themselves. For example, the great-grandfather of Elector Frederick III was Count Palatine Frederick of Simmern (1417–1480) who had two daughters enter the St. Clare cloister in Trier. Also, four out of the eight daughters of Elector Frederick III's father, Count Palatine Johann II of Simmern, spent most of their lives in the abbey in Marienberg near Boppard and one later became the abbess of the Benedictine abbey in Neuburg on the Neckar.[105] However, despite this break with the past, much of the actual educational purpose remained the same as their Bavarian cousins.

A comparison between the educational experiences of the Wittelsbach females demonstrates how strikingly similar gendered perceptions of female roles persisted in both halves of the Wittelsbach

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[102] Wilhelm V to Philipp Wilhelm and Ferdinand (Munich [?], 1592 [?]), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 72.

[103] Ibid., 73.

[104] Ibid.

[105] F. Schmidt, ed., *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, xxvi.

dynasty despite other elements of discontinuity. The reason was that many male writers on female education considered the development of piety and preservation of chastity as the primary objectives of female education. For instance, an early Renaissance educational treatise by Leonardo Bruni for women emphasized religion for this very reason.[106] He dedicated his treatise, *The Study of Literature* (ca. 1422–1429), to Lady Battista Malatesta of Montfeltro and encouraged her to study literature: "There is, indeed, no lack of examples of women renowned for literary study and eloquence that I could mention to exhort you to excellence."[107] He then offered the example of Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio, and Sappho from classical antiquity. Bruni also admonished her to take up the Church fathers, especially St. Augustine, St. Jerome and Lactantius Firmanius's *Against False Religion* and *On the Wrath of God*.[108] The works by Firmanius in particular were well suited for the coming confessional age.

Even though Bruni recommended Cicero as a source for gaining eloquence, he emphasized that a female should not expect eloquence to be used in spheres considered masculine: "She will, in a word, leave the rough-and-tumble of the forum entirely to men."[109] Bruni then stated that the value of literature for women was in the pursuit of holiness: "These two subjects, then, divinity and moral philosophy, will be her most important goals, the *raison d'être* of her studies."[110] Even when discussing the value of eloquence, Bruni places it within the framework of devotional experience:

> …when Mass is being said in church, we sometimes yawn and fall asleep even when it is being done very beautifully, but when once that poetical refrain breaks out…which of us is so earthbound as not to feel some lifting up of the soul, some inspired feeling?[111]

Likewise his defense of reading classical poetry is punctuated by the example of chastity and fidelity displayed by Penelope, wife of Ulysses, king of Ithaca.[112]

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[106] Kallendorf, ed., *Humanist Educational Treatises*, xi.
[107] Leonardo Bruni, *The Study of Literature*, in *Humanist Educational Treatises*, trans. and ed. Craig Kallendorf, 93.
[108] Ibid., 93, 97–99.
[109] Ibid., 99, quote 105.
[110] Ibid., 107.
[111] Ibid., 117.
[112] Ibid., 119.

The limits of female education are even far more pronounced in Juan Luis Vives's *The Instruction of a Christian Woman* originally dedicated to Henry VIII's first wife, Catherine of Aragon, which became the primary model for both halves of the Wittelsbach dynasty during the confessional age. Vives's *The Education of a Christian Woman* enjoyed the same influence on the Wittelsbach females as Erasmus's *The Education of a Christian Prince* did on the Wittelsbach males. However, unlike Erasmus's mirror of prince, there was hardly any change necessary to transform Vives's work into a form of confessionalized education. For example, in stark contrast to Baldassare Castiglione and mildly different from Bruni, Vives did not consider it necessary for women to pursue eloquence at all: "The custom to give praise to a woman for her ability to converse wittily and eloquently with men for hours on end is something that is welcomed and prescribed by ordinances of hell, in my opinion."[113] Vives was concerned that this would lead to sexual promiscuity and rebuked the practice of court ladies in his day: "Courtly dames they are indeed, judging from the courts of our day, begetters of every vice, the abode of Satan…"[114] Indeed, Vives anticipated the ambience of confessional court cultures that both Protestant and Catholic clergy hoped would prevail:

> Juvenal in his famous satire says that in theatres, dances, and crowded places women who would make obedient and complacent wives for a dignified and honorable man are not to be found. Banquets are the weapons of Venus and Cupid, Ovid testifies…Much fuel is added to the fire at a banquet: food, drink, conversations, cajoling smiles, enticing looks, touches, pinching and other such things, to which Bacchus gives free reign…[115]

Vives's version of female eloquence was far more negative than that of Castiglione and Bruni, as is evident in Vives's final statement on this theme:

> In conclusion, the most eloquent woman for me is the one who when required to speak to men will become flushed in her whole countenance, perturbed in spirit and at a loss for words. Oh extraordinary and effective

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[113] Juan Luis Vives, *De Institutione Feminae Christianae. Liber Primus. Introduction, Critical Edition, Translation and Notes*, ed. C. Fantazzi and C. Matheeussen and transl. C. Fantazzi (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), 135; all further quotes will come from this edition.

[114] Ibid.

[115] Ibid., 147.

> eloquence! You are not an advocate, my child, nor are you pleading a case in the forum…[116]

For Vives and many others, including Erasmus, chastity was the quintessential female virtue, a fact that also contributed to the considerably narrow opportunities of educational pursuits for women at this time, even among many noblewomen.[117] Vives stated that all female education centered on preserving chastity:

> In addition, although rules of conduct for men are numerous, the moral formation of women can be imparted with very few precepts, since men are occupied both within the home and outside it, in public and in private…A woman's only care is chastity; therefore when this has been thoroughly elucidated, she may be considered to have ample instruction.[118]

The following statement by Vives about the impact of female chastity on dynastic honor demonstrates why he and many families considered the preservation of chastity as their primary concern for women: "What will be the sorrow of her relatives when they sense that they are all dishonored because of the base conduct of one girl?"[119]

The impact of Vives and his sympathizers on the education of Wittelsbach females is manifest in numerous ways in the primary sources devoted to educational concerns for the Wittelsbachs. For example, the first preserved educational instruction for a Wittelsbach female dates after the heyday of confessionalism in 1663 when the Palatine Elector Karl Ludwig wrote an instruction for the tutor of his daughter.[120] Vives's influence is also strikingly evident when comparing and contrasting the educational reports for the Palatine Elector Ludwig VI's children, Frederick IV and Christine. Their preceptors wanted both children to learn the Heidelberg Catechism, but only

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[116] Ibid., 141.

[117] For Erasmus's views on female education, see Erika Rummel's edited work, *Erasmus on Women* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), esp. p. 9.

[118] Ibid., 5.

[119] Ibid., 59; for a gendered version of honor at this time, see also Martin Dinges, "Ehre und Geschlecht in der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Ehrkonzepte in der Frühen Neuzeit: Identitäten und Abgrenzungen*, eds. Backmann, et al., 123–147; Helmut Puff, "Die Ehre der Ehe—Beobachtung zum Konzept der Ehre in der Frühen Neuzeit an Johann Fischarts 'Philosophisch Ehzuchtbüchlein' (1578) und anderen Ehelehren des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Ehrkonzepte in der Frühen Neuzeit: Identitäten und Abgrenzungen*, eds. Backmann, et al., 99–119.

[120] Karl Ludwig to Ursula Maria Kolb (Frankenthal, 1 December 1663), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 82–86.

Frederick IV's report mentioned the pursuit of both the *Trivium* (rhetoric, dialectic, and grammar) and the *Quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music) that composed the traditional seven liberal arts.[121] In contrast to the lengthy report for Frederick IV's education, the tutors' report about Catherine's education is considerably shorter and explicitly stated she need not worry about being "burdened" with learning Latin grammar.[122] After all, according to Vives and others, the primary needs satisfied by the *Trivium* were to prepare a person for an active 'public' life of oratory. Instead, her tutor considered it sufficient for her to memorize biblical phrases that would assist her in developing piety.[123] This advice is perfectly consistent with Vives' admonition:

> When she is taught to read, let her peruse books that impart instruction in morals; when she learns to write, do not have her imitate idle verses or vain and frivolous ditties, but rather some grave saying or a wise and holy sentiment from the Holy Scriptures or the writings of philosophers, which should be copied out many times so that they will remain firmly fixed in the memory.[124]

Another important distinction between her educational instruction and that of her brother's was that Christine was also to focus on domestic duties and become acquainted with the court apothecary so that she could learn about medicines and healing herbs.[125] This was hardly a Renaissance innovation, but it was consistent with Vives's belief in the importance of household duties for women in the realm of nurturing. For example, Vives advocated cooking: "Let no one hold the name of kitchen in low esteem, for it is an office of great necessity, without which the sick cannot get well and we cannot continue in good health."[126] Christine's instruction also differed from her brother's by mentioning the importance of learning how to sew, spin, make lace,

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[121] D. Strupius and M. Pancratius to Friedrich IV (Heidelberg, 1 Jan. 1581), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 266–277.

[122] D. Strupius, *Lern- und Lebensordnung für die Prinzessin Christine* (n.p., 1582), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 286.

[123] Ibid.

[124] Vives, 41.

[125] D. Strupius, *Lern- und Lebensordnung für die Prinzessin Christine*, 288.

[126] Vives, 25.

and knit.[127] This admonition is likewise found in Vives's treatise: "St. Jerome writing to Paula, a woman of very noble family… wishes her to learn to card wool, to hold the distaff, place a wool basket in her lap, turn the spindle, draw the thread with her fingers."[128]

Vives wedded these domestic activities to classical and Christian morality. For example he mentioned that when women married in ancient Rome they decorated the door posts of their new homes with wool as a "religious rite."[129] He then referred to how weaving helped prevent infidelity by citing the example of Penelope of Ithaca: "the chaste queen of Ithaca, Penelope, beguiled the twenty years of her husband Ulysses' absence by weaving."[130] This classical reference was then reinforced with the authority of the biblical King Solomon who wished that "holy" women practiced weaving.[131] Indeed, for Vives, weaving was just another auxiliary like catechisms in an education for females designed primarily to preserve chastity rather than broaden horizons: "I think we should devote much more care to the instruction of a young girl than is commonly believed. The nature of the human body from its very origins is inclined towards evil and is borne along on that path by its own impulse…"[132] Finally, Vives praised Sir Thomas More's efforts to educate his daughters so that "they would be more truly and steadfastly chaste."[133]

Although Vives's view about female education was influential on the Wittelsbachs and others, it did not mean that Wittelsbach women in the confessional era were simply carbon copies of Vives's and like-minded individuals' ideal of feminine education. In his dedicatory address to Catherine of Aragon, Vives claimed that by addressing female education he was a trailblazer in a virgin wilderness:

> Moved by the holiness of your life and your ardent zeal for sacred studies I have endeavored to write something for Your Majesty on the education of the Christian woman, a subject of paramount importance, yet one that has not been by anyone hitherto among all the great multitude and variety of writers and intellects of the past.[134]

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[127] D. Strupius, *Lern- und Lebensordnung für die Prinzessin Christine*, 287.
[128] Vives, 21.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid., 23.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid., 27.
[133] Ibid., 29.
[134] Vives, 3.

However, as already discussed, the Italian Renaissance humanist Leonardo Bruni had written on the subject much earlier than Vives, and before both of them was Christine de Pizan (1364–1430). Christine was a prominent female writer who straddled the period of late medieval and Renaissance worldviews and wrote pedagogical literature for women.

Christine had received a humanist education from her father who left Venice to serve as the court physician and astrologer for King Charles V of France. She dedicated a mirror of princess to Isabella, the wife of King Charles VI of France, who happened to also be the daughter of Duke Stephen of Ingolstadt and great-granddaughter of Emperor Ludwig IV of Bavaria. She was a Wittelsbach daughter of significant influence as a patroness in France and even had her own lady librarian at court. In Christine's treatise *The Book of Three Virtues*, she emphasized a far more politically active role for women as defenders of the realm than either Vives or Bruni. Christine justified this activity by offering the biblical examples of Esther, Judith, and St. Helena who did take on leadership roles for the defense of country.[135]

Christine's perception of the politically and militarily active female was quite at odds with Vives's ideals. Vives's opinion about women learning to wield weapons could not have been more opposite than Christine's. He stated that "…a young woman cannot easily be of chaste mind if her thoughts are occupied with the sword and sinewy muscles and virile strength."[136] In stark contrast to this view, Christine de Pizan wrote a ditty rejoicing in the military victories of Joan of Arc over the English during the Hundred Years' War which restored Charles VII to the French throne in 1429:

> Oh what an honor to the female sex! That God loves it is clear with all these wretched people and traitors who laid waste the whole kingdom cast out and the realm elevated and restored by a woman—something a hundred thousand men could not have done! Before one would not have believed it possible.[137]

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[135] Birgit Franke. "Bilder in Frauenräumen und Bilder von Frauenräumen: Imaginationen und Wirklichkeit," in *Das Frauenzimmer: Die Frau bei Hofe in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, eds. Jan Hirschbiegel and Werner Paravicini (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000), 115–116, 24.

[136] Vives, 43.

[137] Christine de Pizan, *Le Ditie de Jehanne d'Arc*, in *The Selected Writings of Christine de Pizan: New Translation, Criticism, Critical Edition*, ed., Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinki (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997), stanza 37.

Although Christine's patroness, Isabella of Bavaria-Ingolstadt, never donned armor, another great-grand daughter of Emperor Ludwig the Bavarian, Jakobaa, did. She received a knightly education at the court of her father, Duke William of Holland.[138] Indeed, Christine's mirror of princess, *The Book of Three Virtues*, enjoyed a considerable amount of popularity in her day.[139]

Despite Christine's influence, Vives' view about female political activity in this narrow sense was the majority opinion for Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists in the confessional age. There was a significant chasm between the ideally active political role for women advocated by Christine de Pizan and the passive political role that most actually experienced. Female political governance was usually during a regency or absence of their husbands, and neither the influential Catholic political theorist Jean Bodin nor the equally influential Calvinist political advocate Theodore Beza approved of female political rulers.[140] In fact, the martial images of Judith and Esther of the Bible were often actually associated with men in this age.[141]

Despite their limited political activity, many Wittelsbach women reflected Christine's ideal more than Vives's in their active rather than passive roles as educators. For example, even though popular household literature emphasized the father as the primary educator of the children in a family, Wittelsbach women and others did participate in the education of their children—both male and female.[142] Often the influence of Wittelsbach mothers on the educational values of their children is evident in their correspondence with them. It was common in the 1500s for children to correspond with their mother in German and their father in Latin, and this was generally true for the

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[138] F. Schmidt, ed. *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden*, xviii.

[139] Franke, 117.

[140] Katrin Keller, "Kurfürstin Anna von Sachsen (1532–1585) von Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer Landesmutter," in *Das Frauenzimmer*, eds. J. Hirschbiegel and W. Paravicini, 263–264, 284–285; Robert Healey, "Waiting for Deborah: John Knox and Four Ruling Queens," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 25 (1994): 371–386.

[141] Franke, 125, 131.

[142] Cornelia Niekus Moore, "Die adelige Mutter als Erzieherin. Erbaungsliteratur adeliger Mütter für ihre Kinder," in *Europäische Hofkultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. A. Buck, 505, 509.

Wittelsbachs.[143] For example, Wilhelm V wrote to his father Albrecht V in Latin and to his mother Anna in German.[144]

This correspondence practice is not surprising considering the prevailing views on Latin grammar acquisition for females, but Wilhelm V's consort, Renata of Lorraine (1544–1602), was an important exception. For instance, although Wilhelm V's son Philipp Wilhelm wrote one letter to him in German,[145] he also wrote a letter to his mother in Latin.[146] Indeed, Renata herself composed a congratulatory letter in Latin to her Italian relative, the Grand Duke Ferdinando of Etruria, regarding the French king Henry of Navarre's engagement with Maria de Medici in 1600. Likewise, Renata loved the art of poetry and her son Philipp Wilhelm actually had her read his own compositions first before sending them to his father.[147] Although Vives did not advocate the mastery of Latin grammar for women, Pope Clement VIII did not have a problem with it: in a letter by Pope Clement VIII to Renata's son Maximilian offering condolences after the death of his mother, Clement referred to Renata as "a most learned woman among duchesses" and a paragon of virtue.[148]

Renata also had an important impact on broadening the educational experience of her daughters. For example, her daughter Maria Anna (1574–1616), the future spouse of Emperor Ferdinand II, not only learned traditional female handwork, but also French from her mother and Latin from the court chaplain Matthias Althaimer. Likewise, thanks to Renata's influence, her other daughter Magdalena (1587–1628), later the wife of Count Palatine Wolfgang Wilhelm of Neuburg, gained fame as a learned and pious woman. Magdalena's education

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[143] F. Schmidt, ed., *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden*, 221.

[144] Wilhelm V to Albrecht V and Anna (Munich, 28 August 1557), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden*, F. Schmidt, 223.

[145] Philipp Wilhelm to Wilhelm V (Munich, 18 August 1585), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 258–259.

[146] Philipp Wilhelm to Renata (Munich, 1585), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 259–260.

[147] Anna de Crignis-Mentelberg, *Herzogin Renata, die Mutter Maximilians des Großen von Bayern* (Freiburg, 1912), 75, 122–123.

[148] Clement VIII to Renata (n.p., 22 June 1602) Korrespondenz-Akten 622, in the *Geheimes Archiv* of the *Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv*, Munich.

included not just Latin, but also Italian, Spanish, French, and ancient as well as modern history.[149] Indeed, both of these daughters, like their mother, played important roles in defining Catholic court culture as well as being important figures in the diplomatic arena which will be explicated in the following chapters.

With equal zeal as she did with her daughters, Renata encouraged the education of her two sons destined for the clergy, Philipp Wilhelm and Ferdinand. They, like their sisters and their mother, were expected to defend the faith through other means than the sword. Philipp Wilhelm and Ferdinand wrote a letter to their mother acknowledging that they had read her admonition that they be diligent in studies and God-fearing.[150] Similarly, in one letter to Renata, Philipp Wilhelm stressed that he was studying diligently to be a "learned preacher."[151] In another letter written to both parents, Philipp Wilhelm specifically requested that his mother pray for him so that he could convert Lutherans in his bishopric in Regensburg.[152] Likewise, in a different letter to Renata, Philipp Wilhelm's brother Ferdinand expressed his desire to study so that one day he could bring many Lutherans and "heretics" back into the Catholic fold so that they could enjoy "eternal peace and salvation."[153]

In a letter written to both their parents while they were studying at the University of Ingolstadt, Philipp Wilhelm and Ferdinand articulated how their efforts as bishops would flow in tandem with that of their elder brother Maximilian I as duke and later elector who also had spent time at the University of Ingolstadt: "Maximilian showed us his study desk, which pleased us very much, and it is clean with statues and beautiful pictures. We also want be diligent so that like he does with worldly things, we should desire to do for our altar and

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[149] Crignis-Mentelberg, ed. F. Schmidt, 91, 118–119.

[150] Philipp Ludwig and Ferdinand to Renata (n.p. n.d. [1589?], in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 279.

[151] Philipp Wilhelm to Renata (Munich, 18 September 1585), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 131.

[152] Philipp Wilhelm to Wilhelm V and Renata (n.p. n.d.) [1587?]), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 269.

[153] Ferdinand to Renata (Ingolstadt, 18 June 1589), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 283.

other spiritual things."[154] In another letter to their parents, Philipp Wilhelm, Ferdinand, and their other brother Karl summed up the equation between the Bavarian Wittelsbachs and the confessional age when they wrote that they were studying hard to bring "glory to God" and "honor to the House of Bavaria."[155]

Like her sister-in-law Renata, Wilhelm V's sister Maria of Bavaria was also considered a model mother. She gave birth to 15 children within 18 years. She also corresponded with her son, the future Emperor Ferdinand II, from 1590–1608 and had a profound effect on him as well as Austrian court culture which will be addressed in the following chapters.[156] After attending mass three times, she began her day which included sewing, lace-making, embroidery, and mending. She even brought tools and books with her on journeys so that she did not waste any time.[157] However, neither she nor her sister-in-law shared Vives's view on women and weapons; they were both avid huntresses.[158]

Many of the Palatine Wittelsbach females were also hardly the timid creatures Vives envisioned. For example, the Palatine Elector Frederick III reported in 1560 how his wife, Maria, managed to shoot 8 deer on a family hunting trip, despite suffering from gout at the time.[159] Also, the mother of Frederick IV, Elisabeth of Hesse (1539–1582), led her children as well as all those under her supervision in the learning of catechisms, biblical quotes, and the Psalms of David.[160] Finally, the mother of Count Palatine Georg Wilhelm of Birkenfeld, Dorothea of Braunschweig-Lünberg (1570–1649), sent a letter to her son wherein

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[154] Philipp Wilhelm and Ferdinand to Wilhelm V and Renata (Ingolstadt, 14 January, 1589), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 278.

[155] Philipp Wilhelm, Ferdinand, and Karl to Wilhelm V and Renata (Ingolstadt, 26 September 1586), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 264.

[156] Letters from Maria of Bavaria to Ferdinand II between 1595–1680 found in the Familien-Korrespondenz A nos. 76, 87, 106, in the *Haus-Archiv* of the *Haus-Hof-Staatsarchiv*, Vienna.

[157] Max Bauer, *Deutscher Frauenspiegel. Bilder aus dem Frauenleben in der deutschen Vergangenheit* (Munich: Georg Müller, 1917), vol. 2, 144.

[158] Bauer, vol. 1, 143; Crignis-Mentelberg, 84.

[159] Friedrich III to Johann Friedrich d.M. (1560, Sept. 13, Igelheim), in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. August Kluckhohn (Braunschweig: C.A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1868–1872), 146.

[160] F. Schmidt, ed., *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, xxxii.

she mentioned not only that she was sending clothing and praying for his health, but also that he had better study diligently and be pious.[161] Thus, the efforts of Wittelsbach mothers demonstrate that the education of children was truly a family affair even though it was not until 1646 that we have the first preserved formal educational instruction given by a Wittelsbach female.[162]

The educational efforts by both the female and male members of the Wittelsbach dynasty to ensure that their heirs maintained their status as defenders of the 'true' faith demonstrate how Wittelsbach identity and legitimacy were inseparable from a confessionalized version of Renaissance values. In turn, the promotion of these values helped shape distinct educational court cultures defined by dogmatic differences that underscored the changes transpired since the medieval and Renaissance eras. Likewise, the Peace of Augsburg not only offered the Wittelsbachs the role as defenders of the faith within the Empire, but revived medieval disputes over Wittelsbach leadership that became intimately connected with religious contentions in the confessional age.

A preserved black, leather-bound book belonging to the Lutheran Palatine princess Christine of Zweibrücken (1546–1619) serves as a history of the confessional values of this age that reflect not only the differences, but also the similarities between all the Wittelsbachs, male and female, who considered themselves defenders of their respective faiths and houses. Although it begins with the questions and answers associated with the Lutheran Catechism, it also contains the Ten Commandments which all the Wittelsbachs recognized. This first part of the book originally belonged to Christine's mother, Anna, who passed it on to her. However, Christine's brothers also contributed their own entries. It also contained two "Christian ABC's" with a saying beginning with each emphasized letter. The first was a variation of Proverbs 9:10: "At first one should have fear of God so that one can

[161] Dorothea to Georg Wilhelm (Birckfeld, 5 June, 1605), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher:Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 438–439.

[162] Maria Anna, *Unnßer von Gottes genaden Maria Anna in Ober: und Nidern Bayern…bevelch und instruction für unseres geliebten Sohns Herzog Maximilian Phillips Hofmaister* (Munich [?], 1 December 1646), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 184–185.

become a wise man."[163] No Wittelsbach family, regardless of confessional adherence, would dispute this saying in the confessional age. However, arguments over religious doctrines merged with those of disputes over lands and titles predating the confessional age. The next chapter will illuminate how Wittelsbach perceptions of themselves as defenders of the faith shaped the nature of Wittelsbach patronage of arts and letters that contributed to further confessionalization of late Renaissance court culture.

[163] F. Schmidt, ed., *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, 540–541.

CHAPTER TWO

PATRONAGE AND PIETY: THE CONFESSIONALIZATION OF WITTELSBACH COURTS IN HEIDELBERG AND MUNICH

Generally the court was the foremost place for not just political but also high cultural and social interaction. The courts required the talents of musicians, artists and artisans to provide housing and entertainment. The Wittelsbachs' educational experience reflects Bourdieu's "inner" form of "cultural capital" that predisposed them to particular cultural tastes and in turn Wittelsbach patronage of the arts, education, and literature also corresponds with Bourdieu's "outward" forms of "cultural capital."[1] Indeed, with the princes' new roles as defenders of the faith came what John Adamson calls the "sanctification of the court" in which the court could also act as a "theater of piety."[2] Hugh Trevor-Roper once remarked that the confessional and dynastic competition between the Wittelsbach courts produced the finest example in the Empire of how the court culture of the Baroque developed from princely patronage in the confessional age.[3]

Both the Protestant and Catholic Wittelsbachs, male and female, used their power of patronage to reach this new sacral court dynamic by blending faith, aesthetic tastes, and dynastic ambition. Their efforts resulted in confessionally distinct court cultures that reflected the confessionalization of Renaissance humanism and determined the ambience of court life in this age. Although both courts acted as "theaters of piety" in this age, they peaked as confessional showcases at different times according to the individual personalities of the rulers. Rigorous court piety reached its peak in the mid 1500s in the Palatinate with Frederick III and his wives Maria of Brandenburg and Amalia of Neunahr while the Bavarian court did not experience its puritanical

[1] Bourdieu, "Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital," 185.

[2] Adamson, "Introduction. The Making of the Ancien-Régime Court 1500–1700, 8–9; see also Peter Claus Hartmann, "Konfessionelle Kulturen im 17. Jahrhundert: Kalvinisten, Lutheraner, Katholiken," in *Der Winterkönig, Friedrich von der Pfalz*, eds. P. Wolf, et al., 46–53.

[3] Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Culture of the Baroque Courts," in *Renaissance Essays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 18.

climax until the mid 1600s under Maximilian I and his consorts Elisabeth Renata of Lorraine and Maria Anna of Austria. Furthermore, confessionalized humanism and dynastic competition also helped define the distinct contours of court life in this era. The Palatine Wittelsbachs' courts revealed their Protestant emphasis on the written and spoken word by focusing their patronage predominately on libraries and literary culture in the confessional age. Literary interests were shared by many of the leading administrators in Heidelberg and there was a close association between legal and literary humanism in this age. On the other hand, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs placed at least equal attention to art, music, and theater because they shared the Jesuit embracement of all the arts. Although ritual scarcity set Protestant Palatine funeral commemorations apart from the Bavarian Catholic ones, they all recognized the power of funeral literature for both genders in sustaining their dynastic mystiques as defenders of the faith.

Finally, geographical placement of the courts also influenced court culture in terms of spheres of influence and types of patronage. The Palatine Wittelsbachs were able to take advantage of the dominant geographical and economic position of their court in Heidelberg. The city depended on both court and university structures for its own vitality. Likewise, the Palatine Wittelsbachs enjoyed the position of already possessing an electoral title, whereas the Bavarian Wittelsbachs, as the challengers, felt a greater need to demonstrate their potential through grandiose court patronage. Concomitantly, it required far greater efforts to establish Bavarian Wittelsbach dominance over Munich than it did for their Palatine cousins to do the same over Heidelberg. In contrast to Heidelberg, Munich had a long and proud history of patrician independence before its transformation into the court capital for the Wittelsbachs. The Bavarian Wittelsbachs used architectural expansion of the court and public processions as tools for subduing the city. Thus, the court cultures of the Wittelsbachs reveal the interactions between environment and ambition.

This chapter examines this phenomenon by first addressing the roles of the consorts of both houses and then treating the association between dynastic ambition and the dramatic increase in size of the Bavarian court. This work then demonstrates the connections between legal and literary patronage by the Palatine Wittelsbachs. Following that, it examines how Jesuit perspectives on art and the desire of the Bavarian Wittelsbachs to make Munich their court city shaped the nature of Bavarian court patronage. Finally, the chapter discusses the

significance of funeral and commemorative literature for both halves of the dynasty in perpetuating their myths as defenders of the faith.

The Wittelsbach female consort's first sphere of influence was in the *Frauenzimmer* (the court space designated for female activity) where she was to lead the members of court under her direction by personal example.[4] Her influence in this arena did not affect only her court ladies. For example, a princess herself did not live in the *Frauenzimmer*, and men also served in the *Frauenzimmer* as chaplains, tailors, and other professions.[5] The efforts by Elisabeth Renata, consort of Maximilian I of Bavaria, to enforce sermon participation among the members of her *Frauenzimmer* were also a reflection of the confessionalized court education that young women from the nobility as well as the urban patriciate expected to receive as part of their service in a *Frauenzimmer*. Likewise, these young women hoped to obtain good marriages from their services.[6] Elisabeth Renata's contemporary, Elizabeth Stuart, consort of the Palatine Elector Frederick V, was particularly successful as a matchmaker for her ladies-in-waiting in Heidelberg. For example, in 1615 alone she managed to not only get the high ranking court advisor Colonel Schomberg married to her maid of honor, Anne Sutton Dudley, but also another lady-in-waiting, Bess Dudley, wed to the Count of Löwenstein.[7]

The patronage of female consorts played no small role in introducing the Italian Renaissance into Germany in the 1400s, and Wittelsbach women were no exception in this regard, nor did their roles as patronesses of the arts and letters end with the coming of confessionalization.[8] The Lorraine consorts, Renata and Elisabeth Renata, brought not

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[4] Keller, "Kurfürstin Anna von Sachsen (1532–1585) von Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer Landesmutter," 266–268, 284–285.

[5] Werner Paravicini, "Das Frauenzimmer. Die Frau bei Hofe in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit," in *Das Frauenzimmer*, eds. J. Hirschbiegel and W. Paravicini, 15; Michail A. Bojcov. "'Das Frauenzimmer' oder 'die Frau bei Hofe'?" in *Das Frauenzimmer*, eds. J. Hirschbiegel and W. Paravicini, 328.

[6] Margit Ksoll, "Der Hofstaat der Kurfürstin von Bayern zur Zeit Maximilians I," *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 52 (1989): 61–63; Katrin Keller, *Hofdamen: Amsträgerinnen im Wiener Hofstaat des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2005).

[7] Carola Oman, *The Winter Queen. Elizabeth of Bohemia* (London: Hodder & Soughton, 1938; reprint, London: Phoenix Press, 2000), 141, 147.

[8] Lewis Spitz, "The Course of German Humanism," in *Itinerarium Italicum. The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations*, eds., Heiko Oberman and Thomas Brady (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 394–395; F. Schmidt, ed., *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden nebst geschichtlichem Überblick und Register*, xiii.

only French influence into the Munich court, but also Italian, thanks to their family connections in Italy. Likewise, Maria Anna of Austria helped increase the Spanish Habsburg influence at the Munich court.[9] Louise-Juliana of Orange and Elizabeth Stuart brought considerable Dutch and English influence into the Heidelberg court, and Elizabeth Stuart was a particularly prominent patroness.[10] Thus, although Juan Luis Vives' and like-minded individuals helped create the idea that a woman's space in court (the *Frauenzimmer*) should be like a cloister,[11] the Wittelsbach females were not isolated at court. Indeed, in the confessional age, religious devotion played a considerable role in court patronage. The Bavarian Wittelsbach consorts were particularly active in the Catholic Reform movement that also saw the rise in Marian devotion among both females and males. The Jesuit musical scholar Johannes Kuehn in Munich composed a series of religious songs under the rubric the "heavenly *Frauenzimmer*" at the peak of Marian devotion during the confessional age in the 1630s–1640s.[12] Indeed, although Wittelsbach consorts were not enclosed, Maximilian became particularly concerned about enclosure for females in general during his moral crusade to confessionalize Bavaria.[13] Also, Vives had already advocated the Virgin Mary as the ideal model for female rulers that proved particularly apropos in the confessional age:

> The first model to place before herself…is the queen and glory of virginity, Mary, the mother of Christ, God and man, whose life should be the exemplar not only for virgins to follow but for married women and widows as well…To virgins she was the most humble virgin, to married women a most chaste spouse, to widows the most pious widow.[14]

The cloister of St. Clare for the Order of the Poor Ladies in Munich was a prominent retreat for many Wittelsbach widows. St. Clare of

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[9] Ksoll, 60.

[10] Oman, 141; Frances Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 1972); reprint, London: Routledge, 2006), 4, 21; Jaroslav Miller, *Falcký Mýtus. Fridrich V. a obraz české války v raně stuartovské Anglii* (Prague: Argo, 2004).

[11] Brigitta Stoll, "Frauenspezifische Verwendung von mystischem Traditionsgut im Geistlichen Frauenzimmer-Spiegel" in *Religion und Religiosität im Zeitalter des Barock*, ed. Dieter Breuer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 477–485.

[12] Friedhelm Kemp, "Das himmlische Frauenzimmer" in *Europäische Hofkultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. August Buck (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1981), 511.

[13] Ulrich Strasser, *State of Virginity: Gender, Religion, and Politics in an Early Modern Catholic State* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 82.

[14] Vives, 117.

Assisi founded the order in the Middle Ages, and the members were expected to reject worldly riches and dress and devote themselves to the poor.[15]

The Palatine Wittelsbach consorts had a quite modified version of monastic retreat in the confessional age. About a mile from Heidelberg, at Neuburg on the Neckar, there had been a Benedictine nunnery, and many electoral ladies had even become abbesses until Frederick III secularized it and turned into a private residence for the dowager electresses. Louise-Juliana was living there at the time of Elizabeth and Frederick V.[16] The cultural rift between these two worlds is evident in a letter written by the Palatine Elector Frederick II's widow, Dorothea, describing her visit to Munich in 1566 wherein she alluded to her distaste of the cloister lifestyle in general: "The younger ones, who are pretty and have turned out well, go into the cloister and call it going into heaven. It is such an abominable process. It is not possible to write about it; the pen cannot be trusted."[17]

The concept of monastic retreat among the Catholic Wittelsbachs also influenced the male rulers. For example, Emperor Charles V went into monastic retirement after abdicating at the Peace of Augsburg because the religious compromise went against his conscience. This act influenced Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria who began his own monastic retreat just after abdicating rule to his son Maximilian in 1598.[18] Maximilian and Elisabeth Renata encouraged a court culture that was well known for its sobriety. Much of the austerity came from the Spanish-Burgundian influence of the Habsburgs.[19] Spanish ceremonial influence in Munich first came from the direction of Vienna.[20] Besides Habsburg consorts, the Jesuits with their Spiritual Exercises, schools,

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[15] F. Schmidt, ed., *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750: Urkunden nebst geschitlichem Überblick und Register*, 24.

[16] Oman, 126.

[17] Dorothea to Dorothea Susanna (Neumarkt, Febr. 7, 1566), in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhohn, vol. 1, 638.

[18] Dieter Albrecht, "Das konfessionelle Zeitalter. Zweiter Teil: Die Herzöge Wilhelm V und Maximilian I," in *Handbuch der bayerischen Geschichte*, ed. M. Spindler, 404–6.

[19] Samuel John Klingensmith, *The Utility of Splendour: Ceremony, Social Life and Architecture at the Court of Bavaria*, eds. Christian F. Otto and Mark Ashton (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 63.

[20] Eberhard Straub, "Repraesentatio Maiestatis oder churbayerische Freudenfeste. Die höfischen Feste in der Münchner Residenz vom 16. bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts," (Ph.D. diss., University of Munich, 1969), 126.

and theaters were often the bearers of Spanish influence.[21] In 1606 a Dutch traveler visited the Munich court and remarked that the court figures were "all temperate, strict in morals and upright; every vice is banned at this court; the prince hates drunkards, rascals and idlers; everything is directed to virtue, temperance and piety."[22] A couple of years later, the Abbé de Coulanges, stated that "there is no monastery where one lives with greater discipline and severity than at this court."[23] The austerity of the Munich court did not diminish until the coming of Henriette Adelaide, the consort of Maximilian's son Ferdinand Maria, who introduced the less somber French court ambience permeating from Versailles.[24]

The geographical position of the Palatinate meant long established connections with France that became even closer when Elector Frederick III adopted Calvinism. However, this particularly French influence promoted a greater austerity than that of Paris, and in this sense resonated more with the Spanish influence penetrating Munich. In 1559 Calvin dedicated a new edition of his *Institutes* to Frederick III, and Calvin's influential followers, Theodore Beza and Francois Hotman, were often guests at the court at Heidelberg.[25] For the Heidelberg court, Calvinist rigidity entered and ended with Frederick III. This did not mean that French influence decreased; it simply meant that it took on the more secular French mode while simultaneously claiming a form of Calvinist identity. Frederick III's son Johann Casimir wrote his diary in French and a considerable portion of his correspondence was in French as well. The important court advisor Christian von Anhalt wrote most of his correspondence in French as did other officials. The loosening of Calvinist court sobriety is also evident when Johann Casimir, acting as regent for Frederick IV, built the famous Great Vat in the court cellar in 1591 which could hold 30,000 gallons of wine. The lighter French influence became even stronger with the arrival of Elizabeth Stuart, and courtiers in Heidelberg even dedicated love poems to Elizabeth. However, not all were pleased with this new French influence, not least of which was another important Palatine

[21] Ibid., 125.

[22] quoted in Straub, 169.

[23] quoted in Michael Shattenhofer, "München als kurfürstliche Residenzstadt," *Zeitschrift für bayeriche Landesgeschichte* 30 (1967): 1219.

[24] Straub, 193; Benno Hubensteiner, *Vom Geist des Barock. Kultur und Frömmigkeit im alten Bayern* (Munich: Süddeutscher Verlag, 1978), 122.

[25] Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660*, 33.

political advisor, Ludwig Camerarius.[26] Thus, like the Munich court, Heidelberg's confessional court culture became far less puritanical with Parisian influence. The difference was that Heidelberg began its transformation sooner than Munich. Nevertheless, from approximately 1550–1650 both court cultures still reflected their confessional identities as defenders of the faith.

The rise of the Munich court in particular was spectacular following the Peace of Augsburg (1555), and the Bavarian Wittelsbachs renewed identity as defenders of the faith revived claims of former medieval glory. At the Imperial Diet of 1559 Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria invoked the Treaty of Pavia (1329), the house accord established by his ancestor Emperor Ludwig the Bavarian that declared that the electoral title should alternate between the Palatine and Bavarian branches. Although he did not get his wish because of Habsburg fears of Bavarian ambitions,[27] Albrecht V channeled his energy at court so that it reflected the claims of his house as a dynasty with Imperial potential. Thus, the rapid increase in the size of the Munich court began with Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria. In 1508 the Munich court personnel or *Hofstaat* consisted of only 162 people, but by 1556 it was 485, and by 1571 there were 866 persons employed. The Munich court became one of the largest in the Empire and could rival Vienna. Most of this increase in personnel came not from an expanded bureaucracy, but an increased size of household service. Hence, the number of persons employed for hunting, stables, kitchen and cellar rose, as did the number of young nobles serving as chamberlains, valets, and doormen. Albrecht V also increased the patronage of court artists, sculptors, and craftsmen.[28]

This dramatic increase in household was costly and drew criticism from court administrators and the territorial Estates. In 1557 a group of ducal advisors complained that the court costs, especially for luxury items, were coming at the expense of the people and that foreign servants were being hired at the cost of locals. Albrecht V defended his actions by claiming that the expenses were necessary for his

[26] Ibid., 43–44.

[27] Dietmar Heil, *Die Reichspolitik Bayerns unter der Regierung Herzog Albrechts V. (1550–1579)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 191–206.

[28] Babel, "The Duchy of Bavaria. The Courts of the Wittelsbachs c. 1500–1750," 194–196.

"reputation."[29] When Albrecht V passed away in 1579, the territorial Estates gave his heir Wilhelm V a list of grievances about these court costs. Wilhelm V did reduce expenses by 20 percent; nevertheless, the size of the court remained large throughout the confessional era. The fact that the court served as an important employer, center for career advancement, and a magnet for trade and manufacturing militated against a serious reduction of the court size. Although the most important court offices were held by native aristocratic families, court offices proved to be an important opportunity for social mobility by bourgeois families from Munich with legal training. It was also not uncommon for court personnel to have come from the service of other courts. In this respect, it also appears that the most important foreign cultural influences at court came foremost from Vienna and Prague and then Nancy.[30]

Starting with Duke Albrecht V, the landed Estates in Bavaria lost significance. Albrecht V further pursued his father's policy by patronizing foreign nobles and bourgeois scholars to increase the size of his bureaucracy and administration. Also, Albrecht's authority increased over the Estates in 1577 when the landed Estates granted Albrecht V their own former privilege of approving taxes. Under Maximilian I the last fully convened territorial diet was in 1612. Afterwards, Maximilian ruled without them for the rest of his reign.[31] The University of Ingolstadt assisted in training future court administrators that were more dependent on the dukes' patronage. A classic example was the rise of Leonhard Eck as a chancellor for Albrecht V's father, Duke Wilhelm IV, who studied at the University of Ingolstadt. Eck's mother had been the daughter of a ducal advisor and Eck began his career as one of nine other newly graduated lawyers in Wilhelm IV's service. In the first half of the sixteenth century, approximately two thirds of the court advisors were nobles and only one third were university graduates, half of these being clerics. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the number of nobles dropped to half; and in the first half of

[29] Ibid., 196.
[30] Ibid., 196–200.
[31] Rainer Müller, "Zur Akademisierung des Hofrates. Beamtenkarrieren im Herzgotum Bayern 1450–1550," in *Gelehrte im Reich. Zur Sozial- und Wirkungsgeschichte akademischer Eliten des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Rainer Christoph Schwinges (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1996), 292.

the seventeenth century, the nobles' proportion shrunk to 2/5 while court advisors with university degrees expanded to 3/5.[32]

The Palatine Wittelsbachs also took similar measures to increase their independence from territorial Estates with their increase in foreign administrators, often Calvinist exiles of bourgeois background, as well as maintaining a close connection between court administration and the University of Heidelberg.[33] However, the Heidelberg court was different than the Munich court for a couple of reasons. First, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Heidelberg court was the only German court that could compete with the Habsburgs, so it did not witness a sudden increase in size as the Munich court exhibited.[34] Second, the Heidelberg court was in close proximity to a university in a small city that fostered intimate contact. For example, in the early 1600s in Heidelberg, the physics professor Fortunatus Crellius lived next to the court poet and librarian Paul Melissus Schede and also four students from Nuremberg, Bohemia and Moravia. Court nobles, goldsmiths, and gardeners frequently resided next to students and exiles of noble and non-noble social status.[35] The intimate connections were often strengthened by the bonds of matrimony. For instance, Frederick III's top court advisor, Eberhard von Erbach married Frederick's sister Elisabeth. Eberhard von Erbach also corresponded with John Calvin, and he and other key advisors sympathetic to Calvin had an important influence over Frederick III's conversion to Calvinism.[36] Indeed, Frederick III's Lutheran wife, Maria, believed that Eberhard had too much influence over her husband's decision to convert to Calvinism.[37]

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[32] Ibid., 297–302.

[33] Eike Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert: Studien zur Geschichte der Kurpfalz im Reformationszeitalter* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1998), 98–99.

[34] Dieter Mertens, "Der Preis der Patronage. Humanismus und Höfe," in *Funktionen des Humanismus: Studien zum Nutzen des Neuen in der humanistischen Kultur*, eds. Maissen and Walther, 125–126.

[35] Cornel A. Zwierlein, "Heidelberg und 'der Westen' um 1600," in *Späthumanismus und reformierte Konfession: Theologie, Jurisprudenz und Philosophie in Heidelberg an der Wende zum 17. Jahrhundert*, eds. Christoph Strohm et al., (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 36–37.

[36] Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, 225–226.

[37] Maria to Johann Friedrich (Amberg, 7 April 1559), in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhohn, vol. 1, 53.

Recently, the historian John Adamson has emphasized the importance of an interdisciplinary approach to court studies in order to understand the social, political, and philosophical underpinnings of the court environment.[38] This is especially true for the Wittelsbach courts in the confessional age because many court advisors were also active in arts and letters. In contrast to the Palatine Elector Frederick III's more rigid Calvinism, Frederick IV and Frederick V were more open to patronage of the arts, just like the late medieval and early Renaissance Palatine Wittelsbach rulers.[39] Late Renaissance humanism bloomed in Heidelberg beginning with the regency of Johann Casimir in 1583, and it lasted until 1622 when Bavarian troops conquered the city.[40] In this era, court councilors in Heidelberg connected their work with literary interests and kept close ties with printers and artists. Likewise, many court jurists with literary talent were often both court advisors as well as professors of law at the University of Heidelberg.[41] The court official and jurist Georg Michael Lingelsheim (1556–1563) from Strasbourg was not a professor at the university, but he served as a tutor for Frederick IV and after 1592 became a member of the highest court council, the *Oberrat*. Lingelsheim's home became a gathering place for professors and poets affiliated with the University of Heidelberg.[42]

Many of Heidelberg's intellectuals were immigrants or sons of immigrants with international connections to the broader Calvinist world. For example, Janus Gruterus (1560–1627) from Antwerp grew up as an exile in England and studied law at Cambridge and Leiden.

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[38] Adamson, 9–10.

[39] For the late medieval and early Renaissance patronage, see Martina Backes, *Das literarische Leben am kurpfälzischen Hof zu Heidelberg im 15. Jahrhundert: ein Beitrag zur Gönnerforschung des Spätmittelalters* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1992); Rita Schlusemann, "Power and Creativity at the Court of Heidelberg," in *Princes and Princely Culture 1450–1650*, ed. Gosman et al., 279–294.

[40] Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 100.

[41] Dieter Mertens, "Hofkultur in Heidelberg und Stuttgart um 1600," in *Späthumanismus. Studien über das Ende einer Kulturhistorischen Epoche*, eds. Notker Hammerstein and Gerrit Walther (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2000), 81–82.

[42] Walter, A.E. "Zu den gelehrten und politischen Verbindungen zwischen der Kurpfalz und den vereinigten Niederlanden im konfessionellen Zeitalter—am Beispiel der Korrespondenz des Heidelberger Oberrats Georg Michael Lingelsheim (1558–1636)," in *Northern Humanism in European Context, 1469–1625. From the 'Adwert Academy' to Ubbo Emmius*, eds. F. Akkerman, A.J. Vanderjagt, and A.H. Van der Laan (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999), 284–306; Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 98–99.

He also studied languages and became a famous historical philologist. Gruterus was also a pupil of Justus Lipsius and had close ties with Jacobus Arminius, the later head of the Remonstrants in the Netherlands. In 1592, Frederick IV called him to be a professor of history at the University of Heidelberg, and in 1602, he became the court librarian. He published numerous works of Latin authors such as Cicero, Sallust, Tacitus, Livius, Seneca, and Plinius. Another important figure was the Palatine diplomat and lawyer Marquard Freher (1565–1614) from Augsburg. He wrote a notable treatise, *Originum Palatinarum Commentarius* defending the historical legality of the Palatine Electorship in 1599 against Maximilian I's court secretary Christoph Gewold, who revived the Bavarian Wittelsbachs' claims to the electoral title through the recognition of the Treaty of Pavia (1329).[43] Thus, the electoral issue did not go away after Maximilian's grandfather, Albrecht V, failed in his attempt to revive this medieval house accord shortly after the Peace of Augsburg. In his treatise, Freher reflected the principles of legal humanism by not beginning with the Treaty of Pavia as the point of discussion, but the Roman origins of the terms *comitatus* and *palatinus* in order to emphasize the ancient roots of the Palatine electoral title.[44]

Likewise, in 1610 Freher played an important role in protecting the Calvinist Reformation in Heidelberg after the death of Frederick IV. According to the Golden Bull, the regency should have gone to Philipp Ludwig of the Lutheran branch of Palatinate-Neuburg, but Frederick IV's last testament designated Philipp's younger sibling, Johann II of Palatinate-Zweibrücken, as regent because Johann II was a Calvinist.[45] In one treatise, Freher claimed righteous indignation over the regency dispute with the Lutheran Wittelsbachs that defied "reason" and "law." By quoting Menander's statement that law was a "gift of the gods," Freher emphasized the sacral as well as secular qualities of law.[46] Although the Palatinate-Neuburg branch had a legitimate claim, Freher still managed to defend the Palatinate's Calvinist

[43] Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 100–103.

[44] Marquard Freher, *Originum Palatinarum Commentarius* (Heidelberg, 1613–1614), 1–10. Rare book. CAMENA-Lateinische Texte der Frühen Neuzeit, http://www.uni-mannheim.de [accessed October 19, 2009].

[45] See ch. 1.

[46] Marquard Freher, *Commentatio. De testamentaria tutela, cura electorali libera et integra* (Heidelberg, 1614), 498. Rare book. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

character thanks to prevarications on the part of Emperor Rudolf II.[47] Indeed, most Heidelberg jurists defended Calvinist confessional interests. According to the important court advisor Ludwig Camerarius, humanism and the Protestant Reformation worked in harmony to end papal "darkness."[48]

At the turn of the century, most of Heidelberg's scholars were also poets. The writing of poetry demonstrated a member's elite educated status. Heidelberg even became famous for the number of poet-medical doctors that served at court. For example, Thomas Erastus was not only a physician and theologian who defended the Wittelsbach's position over the church in disciplinary matters, but also a poet himself.[49] Two important Heidelberg poets came from court official families, Friedrich Lingelsheim (ca. 1597–1616) and Julius Wilhelm Zincgref (1591–1635), both of whom received a legal education. Zincgref even became a general auditor of the Palatine troops before the Thirty Years' War. The most important Calvinist poet at Heidelberg was the Neo-Latin poet Paulus Schede Melissus (1539–1602) from Mellrichstadt, who obtained so much fame as a "German Horace" that Emperor Ferdinand I crowned him poet laureate for the Empire. Frederick III first called him to Heidelberg in 1570 for the purpose of translating the Huguenot Psalter into German and creating a hymnbook for the Palatine territory. Following a brief exile at the time of the Lutheran Elector Ludwig VI, Johann Casimir made Melissus the court librarian in 1586.[50] At the time when Johann Casimir's uncle, the Lutheran Reichard of Simmern, claimed that Frederick IV had the right to the electoral vote, but not govern the territory until he was 25,[51] the poet Melissus came to Frederick IV's aid in order to help preserve the Calvinist order in the Palatinate. Melissus wrote a tract defending Frederick IV's legal right to govern, and many of his arguments were drawn from classical rather than medieval legal precedents. For example, he compared Frederick IV with that of Alexander the Great

[47] See ch. 1.

[48] Christoph Strohm, "Weltanschaulich-Konfessionelle Aspekte im Werk Heidelberger Juristen," in *Späthumanismus und reformierte Konfession*, ed. id. et al., 326–344.

[49] Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 100.

[50] Ibid., 104–105; Eckart Schäfer, *Deutscher Horaz. Conrad Celtis-Georg Fabricius-Paul Melissus-Jacob Balde. Die Nachwirkung des Horaz in der neulateinischen Dichtung Deutschlands* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976), 65–108.

[51] See ch. 1.

who succeeded his father Philip of Macedon at an early age.[52] Thus, like Freher, Melissus used his classical learning as a court advisor to both Johann Casimir and Frederick IV in order to ensure Calvinist continuity in the Palatinate.[53]

The impact of Melissus's service to these two Anglophile Protestant rulers may be seen in the influence Sir Philip Sidney, the English poet and ambassador whose Elizabethan cult for Protestant poetry received a warm reception by Melissus.[54] However, influence could work both ways. For example, the intellectual prestige of Heidelberg's court prompted the English student Thomas Coryate to visit Heidelberg in 1610 as part of his Grand Tour where he personally met several scholars. Coryate extolled the members of the Heidelberg court in his account of his journey: "all these from the first to the last have been so excellent and learned writers that they have gotten themselves such a celebrity of name, as will never be extinguished while the fabric of the world does last."[55]

Besides Melissus, another renowned poet who spent time at Heidelberg and used his talent to support Palatine objectives was Martin Opitz of Silesia (1597–1639). He came to Heidelberg thanks to the recommendation of Gruterus in 1619–1620 as a home tutor for the Lingelsheim family, and there he began his famous work *Deutsche Poetery* as well as publishing poems praising Frederick V as King of Bohemia.[56] Frederick's fall soon after assisted the rise of another poet in the service of the Wittelsbachs, the Jesuit Jacob Balde. Balde was a court preacher and a prominent poet in the service of Frederick V's cousin and rival, Maximilian I of Bavaria, and Balde succeeded Melissus from the Heidelberg court as the next "German Horace." Thus, the transference of the prestigious title of "German Horace" from one Wittelsbach court to another demonstrates the power of Wittelsbach

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[52] Paul Melissus, *Assertio propriae gvbernationis serenissimi principis, Domini Friderici Qvarti Comitis Palatini…Adiecta Sigismundi Imp. Aug. Bulla integra Editio secunda Accesserunt poemata quadam, partim Epitaphia, partim gratulatoria & Genethliaca* (Heidelberg, 1593), 5. Rare book. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

[53] Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, 362.

[54] Frances Yates, *Austraea. The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century*, *Austraea* (London: Routledge, 1979), 119.

[55] Thomas Coryate, *Coryates crudeties hastily gobled up in fife moneths trauells…* (London, 1611), 500. Rare book. Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com [accessed March 1, 2007].

[56] Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 105.

confessional patronage. Indeed, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs were just as avid promoters of arts and letters as their Palatine relatives.

Although the calling of the Jesuit Peter Canisius to Wittelsbach service in 1559 marked the beginning of a revival of Catholic literature at the Munich court, confessionalized literary patronage peaked there in the late 1500s and early 1600s, just as it did in Heidelberg.[57] Maximilian promoted Catholic literary movements to counter Protestant influence. For example, under the influence of the Jesuit Ägidius Albertinus, translations of Spanish literature spread throughout Bavaria.[58] Maximilian also financed the literary foundation known as the "Güldnes Almosen" under the leadership of the Jesuit Emmeran Welser in 1614.[59]

Writing about his Grand Tour, the Englishman Coryate remarked that the two features that made the Heidelberg court chapel, the Church of the Holy Ghost, the "fairest of all" the churches in the city was the fact that it housed the court library and the monuments of the Wittelsbach princes.[60] In 1421 the Wittelsbach Palatine Elector Ludwig III laid the foundation for the court library known as the *Bibliotheca Palatina*. Most likely it was a symbol of Ludwig III's attempt to maintain Wittelsbach prestige following the death of Ruprecht as King of the Germans in 1400.[61] During the 1500s the library reflected Palatine Wittelsbach patronage of confessionalized Renaissance humanism to buttress their claims as defenders of the faith.[62] Indeed, the court library grew dramatically in the 1500s thanks to the efforts of the Lutheran bibliophile Elector Ottheinrich and the Calvinist Elector Frederick III. Ulrich Fugger of Augsburg, the only member of this wealthy merchant family to convert to Protestantism, sought haven

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[57] H. Pörnbacher, "Geistliche Literatur des Humanismus," in *Handbuch der bayerischen Geschichte*, ed. M. Spindler, 966; Alois Schmid, "Stadt und Humanismus. Die bayerische Haupt-und Residenzstadt München," in *Humanismus und höfisch-städtische Eliten im 16. Jahrhundert*, eds. Klaus Malettke, et al. (Bonn: Bouvier, 1989), 239–278.

[58] Albrecht, *Maximilian I von Bayern*, 302–304; Guillaume van Gemert, "Teresa de Avila und Juan de la Cruz im deutschen Sprachgebiet. Zur Verbreitung ihrer Schriften im 17. und im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Frömmmigkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit. Studien zur religiösen Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, ed. Dieter Breuer, 77–107.

[59] Albrecht, *Maximilian I von Bayern*, 302–305.

[60] Coryate, 477.

[61] Elmar Mittler et al., eds., *Bibliotheca Palatina. Ausstellung der Universität Heidelberg in Zusammenarbeit mit der Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana. Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 8. Juli bis 2. November 1986 Heiliggeistkirche. Textband*, 3.

[62] Ibid., 4, 179–180.

in Heidelberg and in 1584 donated his personal library to the court library that confirmed the status of the *Bibliotheca Palatina* as the premier library north of the Alps.[63] A prominent Catholic member of the Fugger family had earlier played an important role in assisting the Bavarian Wittelsbachs compete with their Palatine cousins: in 1560, Duke Albrecht V established the court library for Munich and put Johann Jakob Fugger in charge of acquisitions.[64] The Jesuit Augustin Maier lauded Albrecht V's library by comparing it with the famous ancient library of Alexandria.[65] Indeed, just as Heidelberg attracted a renowned court librarian in the Calvinist Janus Gruterus, so too the prominent Catholic scholar Johann Georg Herwart von Hohenberg headed the Munich court library.[66]

Gruterus offered the Englishman Coryate a tour of the Heidelberg court library during his stay at the court and city. After observing its contents, Coryate claimed that the *Bibliotheca Palatina* contained more Hebrew, Greek and Latin manuscripts than either the Vatican library in Rome or the Bessarion library in Venice. Like Maier's praise for Munich's court library, Coryate compared the Heidelberg court library with that of ancient Alexandria. He even claimed that Heidelberg's probably held more books than any library boasted of in the ancient world, and that only the library of his alma mater, Oxford, had a "few more books."[67]

The manuscript collections for the Heidelberg library were used for confessional purposes and the efforts of several Heidelberg scholars

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[63] Meinrad Schaab, "Obrigkeitlicher Calvinismus und Genfer Gemeindemodell. Die Kurpfalz als frühestes reformiertes Territorium im Reich und ihre Einwirkung auf Pfalz-Zweibrücken," in *Territorialstaat und Calvinismus*, ed. id. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1993), 64; Wolfgang Metzger, "Reformation und Nachruhm-die Bibliothek Ottheinrichs von der Pfalz," in *Von Kaisers Gnaden*, ed. Suzanna Bäumler (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 2005), 234–237.

[64] Heinrich Lutz, "Religiös-kirchliche Kämpfe und humanistische Kontinuität," in *Handbuch der Bayerischen Geschichte*, ed. M. Spindler, 776–777.

[65] Augustin Maier, *De laudibus Alberti qvinti Boiorvm Dvcis… Libri Tres* (Ingolstadt, 1582), 22. Rare book. German Baroque Literature: Harold Jantz Collection, no. 137. New Haven: Research Publications, 1973–1974. Text-film.

[66] Rupert Hacker "Die Münchner Hofbibliothek unter Maximilian I," in *Um Glauben und Reich*, ed. H. Glaser, 356–357.

[67] Coryate, 478; for the combination of aesthetic appeal and prestige associated with books since the early Renaissance, see Anthony Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997); idem., *Collectors, Collections, and Scholary Culture* (New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 2000).

reflected the peak of late Renaissance humanism in action. Immanuel Tremellius was a Calvinist convert from Judaism and had formerly served as a professor of Hebrew at Cambridge University before Frederick III called him to Heidelberg. Another scholar, Franciscus Junius, was a Huguenot refugee and theologian taken in by Frederick III. Reflecting the close scholarly association characteristic of Heidelberg, Tremellius married Junius's daughter. In 1569 Tremellius made a translation of the New Testament from a Syrian manuscript, and in 1575–1579 Friedrich III commissioned Tremellius and Junius to prepare a Latin edition of the Old Testament based off Hebrew sources. Tremellius then began to employ a Lutheran edition of the New Testament in order to create a new edition from a Calvinist perspective. He initiated this work during his exile in Johann Casimir's controlled Neustadt after Frederick III's Lutheran son Ludwig VI came to power in Heidelberg. Tremellius continued the project when he returned to Heidelberg following Casimir's ascendancy as regent for Frederick IV. Daniel Tossanus completed the work in 1617.[68]

Coryate lauded the translation efforts of Tremellius and Junius and referred to two other Heidelberg theologians, Pierre Boquin and Zacharias Ursinus, as the "most valient champions of Christ" who "fought the Lord's battell against the enemies of Gods true religion, partly with their eloquent tongues, and partly with their eloquent quilles."[69] Although Frederick III once sent Junius as a field chaplain for prince William of Orange's Netherland's expedition in 1568, most often these scholars depended on the disseminating power of the printing press in their efforts to defend the faith. In contrast to the court library, the printing press in Heidelberg was not well-known for a long time. In 1557, Ottheinrich brought in Hans Kohl as the first book printer in Heidelberg. As a widow, his wife had an important influence on the printing business in Heidelberg, especially the printing of theological texts and music.[70] Nevertheless, even after Heidelberg became Calvinist, Heidelberg's printing output still could not compete with Geneva's. Indeed, the Jesuits felt compelled to set up

[68] Schaab, "Obrigkeitlicher Calvinismus und Genfer Gemeindemodell," 64.
[69] Coryate, 499–500.
[70] Albrecht Classen, "Frauen im Buchdruckergewerbe des 17. Jahrhunderts. Fortsetzung einer spätmittelalterlichen Tradition und Widerlegung eines alten Mythos. Methodische Vorüberlegungen zur Erhellung der Rolle von Buchdruckerinnen," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 76 (2001), 221–223.

printing presses in Fribourg and Lucerne, Switzerland to counteract Calvinist Genevan publications. In 1585 a Heidelberg minister felt it necessary to request that the Genevan Theodore Beza join the pamphlet war against the Jesuits who were making headway in Germany at the expense of the Calvinist church.[71] It was not until two years later that Heidelberg's press was capable of greater combat. In 1587 the printer Hieronymus Commelinus from Flanders set up shop in Heidelberg. His press emphasized works of antiquity and theology: Euripides, Terence, Virgil, the church fathers, council acts of the early church, and the writings of Calvinist theologians.[72] Like Heidelberg, there was essentially only one prominent printing press in Munich in the 1500s; it was that of the Berg family which the Wittelsbach dukes used to print court productions, especially under Adam Berg.[73]

In 1559, the English ambassador noted the striking difference between Elector Ottheinrich's patronage of the fine arts and that of his successor, Elector Frederick III:

> Otto Henry had begun at Heidelberg a magnificent and a sumptuous building, for which he assembled from all parts the most renowned artists, builders, sculptors, and painters, but the Elector Palatine prosecutes the work leisurely and with less splendor and magnificence. He has dismissed all the musicians and above 200 retainers from the Court, being desirous to free the Palatinate from debt.[74]

The English ambassador was discussing Frederick III's personality while present at the very same Imperial Diet of Augsburg that Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria used to challenge the Palatine monopoly of the electoral title. Not coincidentally, 1559 also marked the year that Frederick III became the Palatine Elector, and Calvin dedicated a copy of his *Institutes* to him.[75] The most visible forms of confessional Wittelsbach identity and claims can be seen in their patronage of the fine arts.

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[71] Scott Manetsch, *Theodore Beza and the Quest for Peace in France, 1572–1598* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000), 126.

[72] Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 111.

[73] A. Schmid, "Stadt und Humanismus," 246.

[74] Dr. Mundt to Cecil (1559—June 22), in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. August Kluckhohn, vol. 1, 82–83; orig. in *Calendar of State Papers*, Foreign Series, Elisabeth 1558–59, ed. J. Stevensen, 342.

[75] For Calvin's broader relationships with a number of German rulers, see Christopher Ocker, "Calvin in Germany," in *Politics and Reformations: Histories and Reformations. Essays in Honor of Thomas A. Brady, Jr.*, eds., idem, 314–344.

Just as the rulers determined the religious affiliation of their subjects after the Peace of Augsburg, they also determined the art of the region. This is very evident in the transformation of Munich from a patriciate to a princely city.[76] The first time Munich was referred to as a "princely city" was 1530, and only after 1575 was it called the "princely capital." The transition of Munich to a princely city began around 1530 and corresponded with the decline of the patriciate economically and politically, especially evident in 1574 with the transfer of the salt monopoly from the citizens to the Wittesbachs under Wilhelm V. By the time of Maximilian I, the patricians of Munich lost their remaining special privileges. Spatially, the Wittelsbachs used patronage of architecture to increase their control over the city. In 1561, Albrecht V declared all court personnel and their families residing in Munich exempt from city authorities, a privilege that was disputed up to the 1700s. The expansion of the Wittelsbach court residence came at the expense of former areas of bourgeois residences. For example, in the second half of the sixteenth century, the construction of the Maxburg for Wilhelm V meant the removal of 50 citizen houses to make space for the new structure. For the establishment of the Jesuit College and St. Michael's Church, the Wittelsbachs removed approximately 100 citizen houses. Much of the construction replacing bourgeois residences were for buildings devoted to house the art collections of the Wittelsbachs and intended to demonstrate the greatness of the Wittelsbachs.[77]

Among the artists and artisans employed to create these projects, few were actually from Munich, which emphasized their dependent status on the duke's patronage. Most were from Italy and the Netherlands or trained in the schools in these areas. The Wittelsbach models for patronage were Rome and the Florence of the Medici. Even when the Wittelsbachs employed local artisans, it was in the service of the court, and the rulers determined the nature of the art.[78] The transformation of Munich to a princely city did not happen without causing a certain amount of resentment among the Munich residents. The Wittelsbachs found it necessary to compel the city magistrates to participate in reli-

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[76] Wolfgang Braunfels, "Cuius Regio Eius Ars," in *Um Glauben und Reich*, ed. H. Glaser, 135–136.

[77] Braunfels, 135–136; Michael Schattenhofer, "München als kurfürstliche Residenzstadt," *Zeitschrift für bayeriche Landesgeschichte* 30 (1967): 1204–1208, 1217, 1225.

[78] Braunfels, 135–136.

gious processions every Thursday that promoted the Wittelsbachs as defenders of the faith; failure to comply meant the incurring of hefty fines.[79]

The Wittelsbach patronage of the Jesuit church St. Michael's is a classic example of confessionalized humanism reflecting Bavarian Wittelsbachs' claim to be defenders of the faith. Wilhelm V chose the name St. Michael because he was born on St. Michael's day (29 September). Wilhelm encouraged the association of St. Michael with the Wittelsbachs because traditionally the depiction in the Apocalypse of St. Michael's slaying of the dragon symbolized the Church's victory over heresy.[80] Unlike St. Wenceslaus for Bohemia or St. Stephen for Hungary, Bavaria's only patron saint had been the Virgin Mary until 1582. The role of St. Michael as patron saint of Bavaria can also be seen in Raphael Sadeler's engraving *St. Michael as Guardian of Bavaria* imitated from Matthias Kager and found in Matthäus Rader's *Bavaria Sancta* 1615 (chronology of Bavaria's saints). It is found on the first page of the book and presents St. Michael showing a map of Bavaria containing the Wittelsbach coat of arms to the Madonna, while the infant Jesus with an outstretched arm blesses Bavaria. Also, St. Michael is wearing the collar of the Golden Fleece, the elite knightly order promoted by the Habsburgs that included Wilhelm V. While the Virgin Mary became by far the most visible patron saint for Bavaria during the confessional age, St. Michael remained a Bavarian patron saint. In fact, Wilhelm V and Renata are buried in the crypt of this church underneath the choir, and the very focus of the church entry is Hubert Gerhard's bronze statue of *St. Michael Vanquishing Lucifer*.[81]

Wilhelm's wife, Renata of Lorraine, encouraged Wilhelm to build St. Michael's and the accompanying Jesuit College in Munich. In a sense she was encouraging her husband to follow the example of her brother who had financed a similar project in Lorraine.[82] Scholars still debate

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[79] Babel, "The Duchy of Bavaria. The courts of the Wittelsbachs c. 1500–1750," 192.

[80] Gabriele Dischinger, "Die Jesuitenkirche St. Michael in München. Zur frühen Planungs-und Baugeschichte," in *Um Glauben und Reich*, ed. H. Glaser, 163; for an extensive description of the dedication ceremony and its relationship to confessionalized humanism, see Ulrich Schlegelmilch, *Descriptio Templi: Architektur und Fest in der lateinischen Dichtung des konfessionellen Zeitalters* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2003), 237–274.

[81] Jeffrey Chips Smith, *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 65–75.

[82] Crignis-Mentelberg, 76.

the original architects' identity, but most likely they were Friedrich Sustris and Wendel Dietrich of Augsburg. Sustris was Wilhelm V's chief artistic advisor and court painter who was trained in Italy and had even collaborated with Giorgio Vasari for the decoration of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence from 1563–1567.[83] Architecturally, an influential model for St. Michael's was the mother church of the Jesuit order *il Gesú* in Rome. The antique models were the Maxentius-Constantine Basilica in Rome, especially as recently reconstructed by the Italian architect Andrea Palladio. Although it was later discovered that it was also a peace temple in the Claudio-Vespasian era, in the 1597 dedicatory address for St. Michael's, the Jesuits concentrated their praise on Wilhelm V's efforts to imitate the Emperor Constantine. Wilhelm V established the statue program of the facade of St. Michael's in 1584 after he visited the grave monument for the Emperor Maximilian I in Innsbruck. Emperor Maximilian I, a master of dynastic representation, served as a model for Wilhelm V, and the statues on the St. Michael's facade reflected a Wittelsbach version of dynastic succession from illustrious early medieval ancestors to the present.[84]

The family nature of the project is also evident in the fact that Wilhelm V's twenty one year old son, Cardinal Philipp Wilhelm, gave a sermon at the dedication ceremony for St. Michael's on the sixth of July 1597. It also demonstrated the faith and perseverance of the family and the Jesuits in their cause. For example, there were a number of financial difficulties, and in 1590 even one of the towers collapsed. However, instead of the tower's toppling discouraging them, Wilhelm V's family and the Jesuits considered it a sign that God wanted the church larger than they had originally intended.[85]

Wilhelm V and his family shared the Jesuits' belief in the power of the arts for devotional purposes. Ignatius of Loyola deserves to be recognized as the religious and intellectual founder of Jesuit artistic endeavors, and his treatise *Spiritual Exercises* allowed for art to be a means of reaching the goal of union with God. Loyola believed in using all the senses for understanding God. Like Thomas Aquinas, the Jesuits believed that mental and visual images were important for

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[83] J. Smith, 60.

[84] Heinz Jürgen Sauermost, "Zur Rolle St. Michaels im Rahmen der wilhelminsch-maximilianischen Kunst," in *Um Glauben und Reich*, ed. H. Glaser, 167–169.

[85] Erich Hubala, "Vom europäischen Rang der Münchner Architektur um 1600," in *Um Glauben und Reich*, ed. H. Glaser, 141.

remembrance and worship. The Jesuits introduced the conception of *Gesammtkunstwerk* in southern Germany where the church was a focus of a complete work of art with each distinct part related to the whole. This became a major trait of late German Baroque and Rococo styles and St. Michael's in Munich was a model for this development.[86]

The renowned Jesuit architect, Giuseppe Valeriano, came from Genoa to Munich to serve as an advisor for the construction of St. Michael's, and the interior of the church corresponds to Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises*. The goal was to assist worshippers in progressing to higher states of understanding. Indeed, St. Michael's was primarily a teaching church for the Jesuits and their followers rather than a parish church like St. Peters', where baptisms, marriages, and last rites were performed. Thus, St. Michael's catered to a Jesuit educated elite who would recognize the relationship between the architectural design and Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises*.[87] St. Michael's became the first significant Catholic Church edifice built in Germany in the previous fifty years and its size competed with the largest Gothic cathedrals of the Holy Roman Empire. Only Wilhelm V's palace and gardens were of greater scale.[88]

Besides her encouragement of St. Michael's, Renata of Lorraine was actively engaged in many other building projects of her husband, as well as patronizing her own projects. Likewise, she was especially supportive of the wives of artists who became sick. Renata's education in Lorraine and personal tastes prompted her to be a patroness of all the arts. She patronized painters and sculptors, especially for the building and decoration of the Catherine Chapel at court and commissioned the "German Raphael" Christoph Schwarz for this project. In 1583, she also donated a large crown for the monstrance in the Andechs Church. Renata also patronized acclaimed goldsmiths from Munich and Augsburg and imported jewelry from Italy.[89] Jewelry was particularly important for females at court as a physical form of aesthetic display and grandeur.[90]

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[86] J. Smith, 29–38, 200; Reinhold Baumstark, ed., *Rom in Bayern. Kunst und Spiritualität der ersten Jesuiten* (Munich: Hirmer, 1997).

[87] J. Smith, 79–80.

[88] Ibid., 58–60.

[89] Crignis-Mentelberg, 71–76.

[90] Monica Kurzel-Runtscheiner, *Glanzvolles Elend: die Inventare der Herzogin Jacobe von Jülich-Kleve-Berg (1558–1597) und die Bedeutung von Luxusgütern für die höfische Frau des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1993).

Most of the visual splendor in the Munich court had its roots in the patronage of Renata's father-in-law, Duke Albrecht V. Albrecht V established two important structures for dynastic display, the *Kunstkammer* ("art chamber") and the Antiquarium primarily for classical sculptures.[91] Albrecht V became the first among German princes to design buildings specifically for the housing of his art collection when he had the *Kunstkammer* built from 1563–1567.[92] Besides assisting as court librarian, Johann Jakob Fugger of Augsburg also was a critical supporter of the *Kunstkammer* and the Antiquarium. He often traveled to Vienna to visit the prominent antiquarian, humanist, and art-dealer Jacopo Strada when seeking acquisitions.[93] It was hardly coincidental that Johann Jakob Fugger frequently visited Habsburg Vienna since the Habsburg courts had long been active as some of the most formidable court patrons of art in the early modern era.[94]

The Austrian Habsburgs' and Bavarian Wittelsbachs' close ties during the confessional age promoted Catholic cultural continuities in artistic patronage for dynastic prestige. Wilhelm V had a budget that did not always correspond with his desires to demonstrate the greatness of the Bavarian Wittelsbachs. For example, his court jeweler, Valentin Drausch, spread the Milanese jewel cutting techniques into Bavaria in 1570–1582, but he ended up in jail because his patron could not pay off his debts to him, an action which left Drausch at the mercy of other creditors. Drausch also represented the Wittelsbach dynastic link with the Habsburgs because he also built a reliquary for Wilhelm V's sister, Maria of Bavaria, the Archduchess of Inner Austria. He also crafted two automatons of trumpeters for the propaganda purposes of Maria of Bavaria's relation, Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol.[95] Likewise, the Habsburg connection can be seen in the Spanish dichotomy between public and private spheres. For example, many of Maximilian's greatest acquisitions of art and treasure he kept private. In this manner, he further underscored the distance between himself and the members

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[91] Babel, "The Duchy of Bavaria. The courts of the Wittelsbachs c. 1500–1750," 190.

[92] Ibid., 201–202.

[93] Braunfels, 137.

[94] For the Habsburgs, see Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Princes and Artists. Patronage and Ideology at Four Habsburg Courts, 1517–1633* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1976).

[95] Hilda Lietzmann, *Valentin Drausch und Herzog Wilhelm V. von Bayern. Ein Edelsteinschneider der Spätrenaissance und sein Auftraggeber* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1998), 106–107, 118–123.

of the court with his unique majestic role.[96] On the other hand, the relationship between princely patrons and artists or scientists tended to be symbiotic in nature because it reinforced the social prestige of the artists or savants as well the rulers.[97]

The Munich court became a foremost center of Mannerist art which attempted to not merely imitate nature, but control it.[98] This attitude towards nature also helps explain the origin of "Cabinets of Curiosities" that became the foundation for many art and natural history museums, including the Munich *Kunstkammer*. The Bavarian Wittelsbachs patronized one of the most prominent "Cabinets of Curiosities" in the early modern era. In 1565 Duke Albrecht V and Anna of Habsburg founded the *Schatzkammer* (treasury) for the protection of their valuables in a legal document. Their model was probably the 1564 agreement between the brothers of Anna to preserve the dynastic property of the Austrian Habsburgs by making "inalienable" an agate bowl and a supposed unicorn horn. In the same year, Albrecht V established the *Kunstkammer* whose collected objects were intended for display to a select audience of princes, ambassadors, and scholars.[99] However, even in this arena, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs remained in the shadow of Habsburg artistic patronage until the death of Emperor Rudolf II in 1612, when Maximilian began collecting art on a grand scale.[100] Thus, it should be remembered that despite confessional competition, traditional dynastic ambitions did not entirely disappear between Catholics, nor did confessional boundaries stop Maximilian from using a Protestant from Augsburg, Philip Hainhofer, as one of his most important art agents in Venice.[101]

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[96] Babel, "The Duchy of Bavaria. The Courts of the Wittelsbachs c. 1500–1750," 192, 200.

[97] Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 8.

[98] Benno Hubensteiner, "Der Triumph des Manierismus. Eine Anmerkung zur Hofkultur des bayerischen 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Festschrift für Max Spindler zum 75. Geburtstag,* ed. Dieter Albrecht, (Munich: Beck, 1969), 440–441.

[99] Lorenz Seelig, "The Munich Kunstkammer, 1565–1807," in *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century*, eds. Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 76–78.

[100] Brigitte Volk-Knüttel, "Maximilian als Sammler und Auftraggeber. Seine Korrespondenz mit Philipp Hainhofer, 1611–1615," in *Quellen und Studien zur Kunstpolitik der Wittelsbacher vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. H. Glaser (Munich, 1980), 83.

[101] Alois Schmid, "Maximilian I. und Venedig. Ein Beitrag zur Hofkultur des Frühabsolutismus," in *Venedig und Oberdeutschland in der Renaissance. Beziehungen zwischen Kunst und Wirtschaft*, ed. Bernd Roeck (Sigmaringen, 1993), 174.

The historian Paula Findlen has remarked that the Renaissance was not just an art movement, but a "dynamic cultural process" that shaped values and that the acquisition of antique works allowed rulers the opportunity of "possessing the past."[102] This cultural process is evident in the establishment of the Antiquarium. It became the locus where the Bavarian Wittelsbachs promoted their image as a legitimate ruling house linked to antiquity by famous ancestors and mythical models of virtues whose traits qualified them to be defenders of the faith. In 1568 Albrecht V built the Antiquarium for his library and collection of classical sculptures.[103] The Antiquarium formed the foundation for the Glyptothek museum in Munich and became the oldest uniform museum in the Empire. Besides antique sculptures, there were mural cycles depicting the virtues of the Wittelsbachs that visually presented them as 'possessors' of cities, towns, and markets.[104]

It was during the rule of Wilhelm V that Munich first began to be called the "German Rome," and the Antiquarium continued to serve Wittelsbach prestige under Maximilian. Maximilian had the Emperor Charlemagne presented as the ancestor of the Wittelsbachs, as well as the Emperor Ludwig the Bavarian.[105] Under Ludwig the Bavarian, Munich actually had served as the Imperial capital and benefited economically and culturally from the Italian and other international connections that accompanied the city's new status.[106]

Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Bavarian court was usually that of the *Residenz* (Residential Palace) in Munich that represented the gradual merging of different buildings. At first the dukes lived in the *Alte Hof* (Old Court) first built in the thirteenth century at the northeast wall of the city. However, there was friction between the city and the dukes. In 1380 the dukes built another castle called the *Neuveste* (New Residence) along the new city wall which allowed them unencumbered access to the city. To ease the fear of citizens,

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[102] Paula Findlen, "Possessing the Past: The Material World of the Italian Renaissance," *American Historical Review* 103 (1998): 113.

[103] Babel, "The Duchy of Bavaria. The Courts of the Wittelsbachs c. 1500–1750," 201–202.

[104] Braunfels, 137.

[105] Sauermost, 170–171; Andreas Kraus, "Tassilo und Karl der Große in der bayerischen Geschichtsschreibung des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Festschrift für Max Spindler zum 75. Geburtstag,* ed. Dieter Albrecht (Munich: Beck, 1969), 451–472.

[106] Michael Dirrigl, *Residenz der Musen. München Magnet für Musiker, Dichter und Denker. Studien zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte München* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1968), 9.

the Wittelsbachs promised they would not live there; however, under Duke Wilhelm IV (r. 1508–50) the *Neuveste* became the central part of the *Residenz*. Under Maximilian, the *Residenz* expanded substantially. He built two new reception rooms, the entrance hall and the Hercules Hall, and had the ceiling raised a whole story for this purpose. In 1612 he also built the last major edition to the *Residenz* until the nineteenth century, the *Kaiserhof* (Emperor's Wing), where he could entertain the Emperor. The Hercules Hall also served as a place for public ceremonies and a guard room. For it, he commissioned artists to make decorations of deeds done by the Wittelsbach dukes, including tapestries depicting the legend of Hercules that served to associate his power with that of the dynasty.[107]

Although the Hercules image in the *Residenz* was meant to challenge Habsburg supremacy in the Empire,[108] it was also common for rulers to hang tapestries depicting famous victories that compared contemporary rulers with Mars and Hercules.[109] Thus, Maximilian was in good company when he commissioned the Augsburger humanist Marx Welser as historiographer to create an image program to display the greatest acts of the Wittelsbachs. All of these depictions were meant to demonstrate their virtue of *Fortitudo* (strength) and other important cardinal virtues associated with Neostoicism.[110] Indeed, Maximilian was in company with his Protestant rivals as well, since the classical virtues of good rulership: piety, justice, prudence, constancy, and strength were claimed by both confessions.[111] Statutes supporting claims of Wittelsbach legitimacy were also used by the Palatine Wittelsbachs. Although Frederick III was not an ambitious architectural patron, his predecessor and successors were. For example, Frederick V and Elizabeth lived in the buildings built by Ottheinrich and Frederick IV for the Heidelberg palace. The Ottheinrich Wing housed statues of King David and the personifications of faith, hope, and charity while

[107] Babel, "The Duchy of Bavaria. The courts of the Wittelsbachs c. 1500–1750," 200–202.

[108] Straub, 53.

[109] Adamson, 8.

[110] Gabrielle Greindl, "Zur Ikonografie der Münchner Residenz. Der Einfluß des Hofbeichtvaters Adam Contzen auf das Bildprogramm der Fassade," *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landes-Geschichte* 60 (1997): 775–786.

[111] Heinz Duchhardt, "Das Protestantische Herrscherbild des 17. Jahrhunderts im Reich," in *Das Herrscherbild im 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Konrad Repgen (Münster: Aschendorff, 1991), 30.

the Frederick Wing contained statues of claimed ancestors, starting with Charlemagne and ending with a statue of the present ruler.[112]

Besides sculptural and architectural patronage, a broad range of music was heartily favored at the Heidelberg court until Frederick III. When he came to power, Frederick III shut down the court orchestra and choir as an attempt to help reduce court debts incurred under Ottheinrich. Until Frederick IV, the guests at the Heidelberg court actually had to bring their own singers and instrumentalists with them.[113] Frederick III's puritan leanings made him very sympathetic to iconoclasm and dampened his patronage of most visual arts. Although a Calvinist, Frederick IV was also a different personality than his grandfather, and he set the new tone for his court when he refused to give the Calvinist Johann von Münster a position in the Palatinate because in 1603 he had written a tract against dancing.[114]

In Munich, Albrecht V brought in the famed Flemish composer Orlando di Lasso, who had earlier worked for the court of Cosimo I de Medici, the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Albrecht V first brought Orlando as a singer in 1557 and then made him director of the court orchestra. As a consequence of his influence, many Italian musicians flocked to the Munich court, and it became a leading center for late Renaissance music.[115] Wilhelm V and Renata were also avid patrons of music, and Renata was particularly influential in introducing French musical style to the court.[116] Although the expenses of the court orchestra provoked criticism, the prestige it brought to the Bavarian Wittelsbachs as one of the foremost centers for late Renaissance music was invaluable.[117] In

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[112] Oman, 118.

[113] Mertens, "Hofkultur in Heidelberg und Stuttgart um 1600," 77.

[114] Henry J. Cohn, "The Territorial Princes in Germany's Second Reformation, 1559–1622," in *International Calvinism, 1541–1715*, ed. Menna Prestwich (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 145; Frederick III's attitudes were much more comparable with English puritan attitudes towards dance, see Mary Pennino-Bakersville, "Terpsichore Reviled: Anti-Dance Tracts in Elizabethan England," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 22 (1991): 475–494.

[115] Babel, "The Duchy of Bavaria. The courts of the Wittelsbachs c. 1500–1750," 190; Horst Leuchtmann, "Ein Itinerar Herzog Albrechts V. von Bayern für die Jahre 1572–1579," *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 34 (1971): 831–857.

[116] Babel, "The Duchy of Bavaria. The courts of the Wittelsbachs c. 1500–1750," 190; Crignis-Mentelberg, 74; Berndt Baader, *Der bayerische Renaissancehof Herzog Wilhelms V. (1568–1579). Ein Beitrag zur bayerischen und deutschen Kulturgeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Heitz, 1943).

[117] Babel, "The Duchy of Bavaria. The courts of the Wittelsbachs c. 1500–1750," 190.

fact, Michelangelo Galilei, brother of the astronomer Galileo, was an instrumentalist in the Munich court orchestra.[118] Although the court orchestra continued under Maximilian, it was not quite as grand, and Maximilian was much more interested in the devotional rather than the aesthetic power of music.[119]

Besides music, another area where the Bavarian Wittelsbachs' patronage excelled their Calvinist cousins in this era was in the promotion of theater—until Elizabeth Stuart came to Heidelberg. Indeed, The Calvinist Palatinate did not really patronize theater at all before Elizabeth.[120] Frederick III was more of a puritanical Calvinist, and this form of Calvinism considered theaters as a dangerous source of public immorality, as was evident in the hostility Puritans displayed towards theater in Shakespearean England and later Puritan New England.[121] However, Elizabeth Stuart was no Puritan. She loved theater and even had her own performing company in England (Lady Elizabeth's Men) who performed for her and Frederick V as part of their wedding celebrations in 1613.[122]

In contrast to Puritan perceptions of theater, there were some shared plays between Protestants and Catholics in this age because they resonated with the tradition of Christian humanism that predated confessionalization.[123] The Jesuits in Munich and elsewhere took full advantage of theater as a vehicle for promoting public morality, just as morality plays had done in the late Middle Ages. Likewise, Jesuit interest in the Renaissance and concern about Protestant influence allowed them to create powerful productions that displayed the potential of confessionalized humanism in the service of state and church.[124] For

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[118] Schattenhofer, 1229.

[119] Horst Leuchtmann, "Die Maximilianeische Hofkapelle," in *Um Glauben und Reich*, ed. H. Glaser, 364–376.

[120] Mertens, 78.

[121] Jeffrey Knapp, "Preachers and Players in Shakespearean England," *Representations* 44 (1993): 29–59; Edmund Morgan, "Puritan Hostility to the Theater," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 110 (1966): 340–347.

[122] Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 4, 21.

[123] James A. Parente, *Religious Drama and the Humanist Tradition: Christian Theater in Germany and the Netherlands, 1500–1680* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987), 61–62; John Watkins, "The Allegorical Theatre: Moralities, Interludes, and Protestant Drama," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 767–792.

[124] Jean-Marie Valentin, "Gegenreformation und Literatur: Das Jesuitendrama im Dienste der religiösen und moralischen Erziehung," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 100 (1980): 240–256.

example, the Jesuits assisted in the promotion of Wittelsbach identity as defenders of the faith not only in the construction of St. Michael's Church, but also through theatrical performance. In 1597 Wilhelm V and company had two engravings of St. Michael slaying the dragon printed, most likely for the consecration ceremony. These engravings allowed for private access and domestic devotion supplicating the protective powers of St. Michael. In order to assist the public in recognizing St. Michael as a patron saint, the Jesuits put on a public play near the front of the church, *The Triumph of Saint Michael*, attributed to Jakob Gretser and Matthäus Rader. The production took place one day after the consecration of the church. It was a five act play, lasting eight hours, using more than 900 actors drawn primarily from Jesuit students to an audience of thousands. The play recounted St. Michaels' struggle to ward off heresy and defend the Church against tyrants such as Maxentius, Attila, and Julian the Apostate. In the final act, the dragon (Satan) attacked the Church as it rejoiced in the missionary successes in the New World and was only saved when St. Michael hurled down the dragon and stated that he would protect Bavaria and the Wittelsbachs because they had built the church.[125]

One of Maximilian's most important court preachers was the Jesuit Jeremias Drexel, who composed a number of sermons originally in Latin that were often translated into German within the same year and published for a broader audience.[126] One of Drexel's sermons, "Life is a Comedy," reveals the Jesuit belief that theater could be employed to make better Christians as well as reinforce the social order: "Our life is a comedy. We are the comedians; one acts and represents a king, and another a beggar. One acts as a prince, another as a doctor, and another as a farmer. Now what role God gives to a person, that person should perform accordingly."[127]

Rituals challenged by Protestants, such as the Corpus Christi processions, contained theatrical elements that reinforced the association between the Bavarian Wittlesbach dukes and their role as defenders of the faith while simultaneously serving as vehicles for sincere devo-

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[125] Ibid.

[126] Albrecht, *Maximilian I von Bayern*, 304–305.

[127] Jeremias Drexel, „Das Leben ist ein Comedi," in *Bayerische Barockprediger. Ausgewählte Texte und Märlein bisher ziemlich unbekannter Skribenten des siebzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Georg Lohmeir (Munich: Süddeutscher Verlag, 1961), 12; Bouwsma, *The Waning of the Renaissance 1550–1640*, 118.

tion. In fact, rituals of public performance, like the Corpus Christi processions, could be used to underscore social hierarchies.[128] The Wittelsbach dukes increased the size of the Corpus Christi procession in the towns to emphasize the victorious Church Militant. Under Albrecht V, Munich's celebration doubled in size. The procession began with the standard-bearers of the city guilds followed by the stable master of the duke accompanied by mounted representatives of the confraternity of St. George. The image of St. George's victory over the dragon served to remind the populace of the Church's imminent victory over Protestantism. Near the end of the procession were the monstrance and host accompanied by four priests and the members of the ducal court; the duke himself ended the procession. In 1574 the Corpus Christi procession in Munich involved a total of 1,439 people as active participants. By 1582 there were over 3,082 participants. The Wittelsbach dukes supplied costumes and armor as well as magnificent feasts which followed the processions.[129]

In a sense, funerals could become theaters that sought to reinforce the values and identities of the Wittelsbachs. Like the Corpus Christi celebrations, the entire funeral 'celebration' for Duke Albrecht V in 1579 demonstrates how funerals could be seen as a total work of art or as a 'theater of piety' that could demonstrate genuine devotion as well as Bavarian Wittelsbach claims to be pious champions of the faith. The court sent out announcements to the inhabitants of Munich so that they could participate in a vigil on Monday and requiem and mass for the soul on Tuesday. On Wednesday, court members had alms distributed to the poor at prominent gates. Bells rang in all the churches until the funeral procession entered the Church of Our Lady in Munich, the former pride of the Munich patriciate. The Wittelbachs draped prominent parts of the church's interior with black cloths that had white crosses and the Wittelsbach coat of arms sewed onto them. Likewise, the Wittelsbachs had Albrecht's grave located in the middle of the church next to that of the Emperor Ludwig the Bavarian, and both sites were surrounded by lit candles. Thus, the Wittelsbachs' claims

[128] Edward Muir, "The Eye of the Procession: Ritual Ways of Seeing in the Renaissance," in *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe*, ed. Nicholas Howe (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 144; id., *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 69.

[129] Phillip Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 9, 87–94.

of continuity as an imperial house echoed throughout the ceremony. Indeed, the court warned the guild masters and patricians of Munich to participate in the procession and not leave the job to journeymen or servants. In this manner, they would make a visible demonstration of their subordination to the dead duke.[130]

The Jesuits in Munich and Ingolstadt held solemn religious services for Albrecht V's funeral as well. In Munich, all of the students at the Jesuit College were present at the funeral service. Reiner Fabritius, a professor of rhetoric, offered a funeral sermon in Latin; and a professor of poetry, Balthasar Schreivogel, as well as eight of his students, wrote poems for the occasion. In Ingolstadt, the head law professor, Nikolaus Everhard, also delivered a sermon; and a professor of poetry, Johannes Engerd, and a professor of medicine, Philipp Menzel, composed poems of lamentation and chronograms. The Jesuits published all of these Latin texts in 1580 at Ingolstadt. Besides sermons and poetry, there was music in the air. Albrecht V had prepared well for his death and had already commissioned his court composer, Orlando di Lasso, to compose numerous devotional works. For example, as early as 1556, Albrecht had Lasso set to music readings from the Book of Job and in 1560 the penitential Psalms of King David. Albrecht believed that the penitential Psalms of David were the most useful in preparing oneself for death.[131] The association of Albrecht V with King David also resonated with Wittelsbach attempts to define themselves as defenders of the faith. Orlando di Lasso was also familiar with the power of music in the "theater of death" associated with dynastic legitimacy, since he had done similar arrangements for his former patron, Cosimo I de Medici.[132]

In contrast to the Bavarian Wittelsbachs, the Palatine Wittelsbachs did not emphasize the theatrical elements in devotional aspects of funerals because Protestant reformers themselves had discouraged it. Both Lutherans and Calvinists demanded that after the burial no one prayed for the dead, put up decorations around the grave, or mourned for an "inordinate" amount of time. In 1556 the Lutheran Palatine

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[130] Helga Czerny, *Der Tod der bayerischen Herzöge im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit 1347–1579: Vorbereitungen-Sterben-Trauerfeierlichkeiten-Grablegen-Memoria* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005) 321–324.

[131] Ibid., 337, 386–387.

[132] Iain Fenlon, ch. 8 "Rites of Passage: Cosimo I de Medici and the Theatre of Death," *Music and Culture in Late Renaissance Italy*, id. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 162–179.

Elector Ottheinrich established a new funeral ordinance that emphasized avoiding anything that might appear as papal "superstition" in the ceremony.[133] However, the Palatine Wittelsbachs still recognized the importance of funeral commemorations as manifestations of dynastic legitimacy, just like their Bavarian cousins.

Published funeral sermons and commemorative literature for deceased Wittelsbach consorts further buttress Susan Karant-Nunn's assertion that Protestants did not abandon the didactic nature of medieval funeral literature anymore than Catholics: both used the sermons to offer comfort and promote Christian piety among the living. Lutheran funeral sermons, and especially attached biographies, were reminiscent of saints' lives. They were intended to inspire audiences to follow a Christian ideal of behavior and console the living. The primary model for these funeral sermons and biographies were in fact princely ones.[134] For Calvinists as well, sorrow and death could be a means of "transforming" rather than "resigning" oneself to the prospect of death. Indeed, Calvin attempted to create a biblical alternative to Neostoicism by emphasizing the possibilities of greater conversion rather than resignation to one's fate.[135] Likewise, the Jesuits did not countenance what they considered to be apathy in the ancient Stoics' willingness to accept fate.[136] In sum, inspirational elements of hagiography remained in funeral literature for all confessional stripes.

Often the best descriptions of the princesses' activity can be found in the funeral sermons devoted to individual consorts. Concomitantly, these sermons give further credence to the claim that funeral literature for women often acted as *Tugendspiegel* ("mirrors of virtue") that promoted a particularly gendered perception of virtues.[137] Thus, even confessionalized funeral sermons and related literature for Wittelsbach consorts shared a considerable degree of commonality as *Tugendspiegel* for those expected to perpetuate the dynasty. A classic

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[133] Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual. An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (London: Routledge, 1997), 184–185.

[134] Ibid., 157.

[135] David Keck, "Sorrow and Worship in Calvin's Geneva: their Place in Family History," in *Piety and Family in Early Modern Europe. Essays in Honour of Steven Ozment*, eds. Marc Forster and Benjamin Kaplan (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 203–210.

[136] Schäfer, 216; Martin Heinrich Müller, *"Parodia Christiana" Studien zu Jacob Baldes Odendichtung* (Zürich: Juris, 1964), 37–38.

[137] Jill Beplar, "Women in German Funeral Sermons: Models of Virtue or Slice of Life?" *German Life & Letters* 44 (1991): 392–396.

example of this is the commemorative tract written for Elisabeth Renata of Lorraine, the first consort of Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria. Their court preacher, the Jesuit Jeremias Drexel, composed the piece and even titled it *Tugendspiegel*. In it Drexel praised Elisabeth Renata as a "hearer" rather than preacher of sermons. He noted her diligence in attending his sermons and compared her with those of several female figures in the New Testament, including Priscilla who for twenty years faithfully listened to the preaching of St. Paul. Drexel also commented on how she and her husband endowed new churches as well as financed the renovation of old ones in Bavaria, such as the old court church of St. Lorenz in Munich. He also commented that it was better for her to spend time in this "house of lament" than in a "house of dance" because in the former one thought about the afterlife. He also praised her for her efforts to have all under her stewardship in the *Frauenzimmer* attend sermons and afterwards quiz them on their contents.[138]

Besides acting as mirrors of virtue, funeral sermons and related literature could also be effectively used to warn the audience of divine wrath if they did not persist in the confessional path of the deceased ruler.[139] Recognizing the power of funeral sermons to persuade the living in this manner, there was an intense confrontation between Ludwig VI and Johann Casimir over who should be allowed to deliver the funeral address for their father, Elector Frederick III. Frederick III had spent his last hours with his court preacher and church advisor, the Calvinist Daniel Tossanus, and Johann Casimir wanted him to deliver the funeral sermon. However, Ludwig VI wanted his Lutheran court preacher, Johann Schechsius, to give the funeral sermon for his father. The brotherly dispute ended with an accord that had both court preachers publish their funeral sermons.[140] In Tossanus's funeral sermon, he delivered a "warning" that the judgment of God would visit

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[138] Jeremias Drexel, *Tugendspiegel…der durchl. Kurfürstin Elisabeth…*(Munich, 1636), 22, 24–25, 40. Rare book. German Baroque Literature: Harold Jantz Collection, no. 965. New Haven: Research Publications, 1973–1974. Text-film.

[139] Graeme Murdock, "Death, Prophecy and Judgment in Transylvania," in *The Place of the Dead. Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 206–223; Larissa Juliet Taylor, "Funeral Sermons and Orations as Religious Propaganda in Sixteenth-Century France," *The Place of the Dead*, eds. B. Gordon and P. Marshall, 224–239.

[140] Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, 272.

the Palatinate if Frederick III's successor, Ludwig VI, did not continue to follow his father's footsteps in defending the Palatinate against "heresy." The allusion to Tossanus's fear that Ludwig VI would attempt to restore Lutheranism in the Palatinate was thinly veiled in his historical comparisons made in the sermon. He compared the political situation in Heidelberg with that at the time when the sons of the Emperor Constantine succeeded their father. He noted the chaos that ensued when several of his sons revived apostate Arian beliefs about the Trinity. Likewise, Tossanus compared the occasion with the turmoil that followed the death of the pious Emperor Theodosius I. He noted that his death had been preceded by an earthquake and followed by the onslaught of, first, the Vandals and Goths, then the Muslims.[141]

In his last testament, Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria made similar ominous threats of chaos for posterity if they did not keep the faith. He warned his sons that they must remain Catholic, or they would end up in Hell. Also, according to the testament, if his eldest son changed religion, then his wife and court advisors should try to bring him back into the fold. If this failed, then the government should be given to the next eldest son who remained Catholic.[142] Thus, both the Bavarian and Palatine Wittelsbachs recognized the influence of funeral sermons and testaments in preserving their dynastic mystiques in the confessional age.

Long before his death, Albrecht V participated in a rare event in the confessional age: a visit to the Heidelberg court by a Bavarian Wittelsbach. In 1562 Duke Albrecht V and his wife, Anna of Austria, the daughter of Emperor Ferdinand I, accompanied her brother Maximilian II, King of the Romans, for a visit to Frederick III's court. Frederick III's wife, Maria of Brandenburg-Kulmbach and daughter of Susanna of Bavaria, was extremely distraught by the visit. She was disturbed because they did not have enough space to entertain these visitors since the Ottheinrich wing was still under construction. She had to house the children and nobles in the garden as well as the servants' quarters.[143] Although the placement of children and nobles

[141] Daniel Tossanus, *Leichpredigt so zu Begrebnuss des Durchleuchtigsten hochgebornen Fuersten und Herrn…Friedrichen diss Namens des dritten…* (Heidelberg, 1576), 7, 12–13. Rare book. Reformation in Heidelberg, HEW-28. Leiden: IDC Publishers, 1998. Text-fiche.

[142] Czerny, 307.

[143] Maria to Johann Friedrich (Heidelberg, Dec. 3, 1562), in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhohn, vol. 1, 357.

in the garden marked a nadir in Palatine palatial prestige, later the Palatine gardens would become one if its greatest ornaments, when the Palatine Wittelsbachs themselves married into a royal house with the wedding of Frederick V and Elizabeth Stuart in 1613.

In 1614 Frederick V designated the famous architect Solomon de Caus as the "Master of the Gardens, Fountains and Grottoes of Heidelberg Castle." De Caus had formerly designed the Richmond Palace for Elizabeth's deceased brother and a French garden at Greenwich for her father James I.[144] Now De Caus became the director of the *Hortus Palatinus* (the Palatine Garden) which, even though it was never completely finished, became one of the most important late Renaissance gardens in Europe. Heidelberg castle was geographically higher than the city which gave the Wittelsbachs the advantage of a natural symbol of sovereignty over citizens. Indeed, in 1619 the Swiss engraver Matthäus Merian produced several copper engravings with this view of the Heidelberg castle over the city for Julius Wilhelm Zincgref's emblem book of Neostoic moral maxims dedicated to Frederick V (see fig. 1). In this work, Zincgref expounded upon this geographical analogy to demonstrate the power of the prince.[145]

Frederick knew the advantages of the landscape and had a considerable knowledge of gardening himself. In the newly constructed English garden section there was an entrance containing an arch with the Wittelsbach lion holding the Imperial orb and containing the Latin inscription "Frederick V to his beloved wife Elizabeth, 1615."[146] In one of the garden grottos was a gallery with the depictions of the deeds of Hercules.[147] Thus, like Maximilian's construction of the Hercules Hall, Frederick V was quick to demonstrate the Palatine virtues of strong leadership through the Hercules symbol. Indeed, Frederick V's garden linked his political ambitions with the Mannerism movement's attempt to manipulate nature.[148] The role of Frederick's garden in the

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[144] For Salomon de Caus see Luke Morgan's *Nature as Model: Salomon de Caus and Early Seventeenth Century Landscape Design* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

[145] Mertens, 72.

[146] Oman, 141–142.

[147] Peter Bilhöfer, „Instrumentalisierung der Antike in der Herrscherrepräsentation am Beispiel des „Winterkönigs" Friedrich von der Pfalz," *Thetis. Mannheimer Beiträge zur Klassischen Archäologie und Geschichte Griechenlands und Zyperns* 7 (2000): 124.

[148] Richard Patterson, "The 'Hortus Palatinus': at Heidelberg and the Reformation of the World. Part I: The Iconography of the Garden," *Journal of Garden History* 1 (1981): 68–71; Anthony Grafton, "Late Humanisim and Science in Rudolphine

Fig. 1. *Heidelberg Schloss* by Matthäus Merian, Heidelberg, 1620

broader political movement known as the Rosicrucian Enlightenment will be discussed in chapter five.

Wittelsbach patronage of arts and literature contributed greatly to the confessionalization of Renaissance humanism in this era. Simultaneously, their patronage also demonstrated how dynastic piety and pride could also provide lasting images of visual beauty as well as conflict. Both the Palatine and Bavarian Wittelsbachs were aware of the power of patronage to make the court a microcosm of the territory. Indeed, both branches of the dynasty became avid patrons of church facilities and educational establishments in order to reshape the religious-political landscapes beyond the confines of their courts. The next chapter will examine the collision between the Palatine and Bavarian Wittelsbachs along the confessional frontiers that they helped make when they set forth their own visions of confessionalized territories that would link the court to the country.

Prague: Kepler in Context," in *Literary Culture in the Holy Roman Empire, 1555–1720*, ed. Parente, et al., 43.

CHAPTER THREE

CONFESSIONAL FRONTIERS AND BORDER WARS: THE CONFESSIONALIZATION OF BAVARIA AND THE PALATINATE

The court played an important role in shaping the religious identity of the Wittelsbachs' territories through exercising the dynasty's responsibility as territorial parents. Both Frederick III and his Catholic Witteslbach rival and cousin, Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria, enjoyed the epithet "the Pious" thanks to their zeal in confessionalizing their courts and territories as *Landesväter* ("Fathers of the Land").[1] The Wittelsbach female consorts also played an important role in the confessionalization of court and country through their role as *Landesmütter* ("Mothers of the Land").[2] In this capacity, the consorts were expected to support their husbands in taking care of the state. They were also supposed to be role models for mothers in their territories and demonstrate fidelity, charity, and piety, not political activity in the modern sense.[3] Wittelsbach efforts to confessionalize their territories and bind them closer to the dynasty included the use of poor relief, church visitations, catechisms, universities, and schools. The Bavarian Wittelsbachs also promoted pilgrimages and Marian devotion in their efforts to defend the land from 'heresy.' The Palatine Wittelsbachs' zeal in defending the land included offering refuge to Calvinist exiles from abroad

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[1] For the concept of *Landesvater* see Paul Münch, "Die 'Obrigkeit im Vaterstand' Zu Definition und Kritik des 'Landesvaters' während der Frühen Neuzeit," *Daphnis* 11 (1982): 16–40; Joel Harrington, "Hausvater und Landesvater: Paternalism and Marriage Reform in Sixteenth-Century Germany," *Central European History* 25 (1992): 52–75; Robert J. Bast, *Honor your Fathers: Catechisms and the Emergence of a Patriarchal Ideology in Germany, 1400–1600* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997); for an extensive examination on the concept of "fatherland" and patriotism in the Empire see Alexander Schmidt, *Vaterlandsliebe und Religionskonflikt. Politische Diskurse im Alten Reich (1555–1648)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2007).

[2] For the notion of *Landesmutter*, especially as first expounded in in Luther's ecclesiology, see Mickey Leland Mattox, *"Defender of the Most Holy Matriarchs." Martin Luther's Interpretation of the Women of Genesis in the Enarrationes in Genesin, 1535–1545* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003); Keller, "Kurfürstin Anna von Sachsen (1532–1585) von Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer Landesmutter," 263–285.

[3] Paravicini, 15; Bojcov, 328.

who were supposed to make economic contributions to the territory. The Wittelsbachs' efforts resulted in confessional frontiers and cultural border wars that reflected the confessionalization of Renaissance humanism.[4]

This chapter examines this process by first introducing the broader concept of 'defenders of the faith' within its cultural milieu, and then discussing the use of piety, church visitations, catechisms, universities, and schools within the context of territorial parents. This is followed by a discussion of how the Upper Palatinate reflected a house divided. Finally, it concludes with an analysis of how Marian pilgrimages and Calvinist refugee settlements contributed to the contours of confessional frontiers and dynastic tensions.

Like the Carolingian mirror of prince literature, the Old Testament kings and patriarchs served as models for the Wittelsbachs, as well as other German princes, after the Peace of Augsburg.[5] For instance, in his last will and testament, the Calvinist Palatine Elector Frederick III admonished his descendants to follow his pious example. He remarked that he himself was following the example of the patriarchs and King David by making such a testament.[6] Likewise, he suggested that God would consecrate his efforts at keeping the faith in his family, court, and territories as a father of his country, just as happened with Abraham.[7] When Frederick III took the reins in Heidelberg, he encountered a religiously divided court and territory that included disputes between Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Calvinists. His own

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[4] For 'confessional frontiers' as a general theme see Ester Andor and István György Töth, eds., *Frontiers of Faith. Religious Exchange and the Constitution of Religious Identities* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001); for the first application to Wittelsbachs' territories see Trevor Johnson, "Defining the Confessional Frontier: Bavaria, the Upper Palatinate and Counter-Reformation 'Historia Sacra'," in *Frontiers and the Writing of History, 1500–1850*, eds. Steven G. Ellis and Raingard Esser (Hannover: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2006), 151–166; for the most recent debates see Thomas Bremer, ed., *Religion and the Conceptual Boundary in Central and Eastern Europe: Encounters of Faiths* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

[5] Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit*, 139–189, 355; Robert Meens "Politics, Mirrors of Princes and the Bible: Sins, Kings, and the Well-Being of the Realm," *Early Medieval Europe* 7 (1998): 351–357; Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660*, 42–43; Hartmann, 46; Graeme Murdock, "The Importance of being Josiah: An Image of Calvinist Identity," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29 (1998): 1051,1056; Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince*, 153.

[6] Friedrich III, *Das Testament Friedrichs des Frommen, Churfürsten von der Pfalz*, ed. August Kluckhon (Munich: F. Straub, 1874), 58.

[7] Ibid., 68.

reading of the Bible convinced him that the Calvinists were correct, and he demanded that court and country accord with his interpretation of the Bible. His zeal in implementing his own hybrid form of Philippist-Calvinist confessionalization, as well as his personal devotion (including hours devoted to prayer and scripture study), earned him the sobriquet "Josiah" by Palatine theologians and policymakers. For Calvinists, he was restoring 'true' Christianity just as King Josiah had restored true worship for the ancient Israelites. In contrast, the Habsburg Emperor Maximilian II considered Frederick III overzealous in his piety, and his criticism reminds us that not all German rulers shared such an aggressive religious stance.[8] Nevertheless, Frederick III's rival, Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, did.

In 1615, the Jesuit Matthäus Rader published the first volume of his work *Bavaria Sancta* ("Holy Bavaria"), a hagiographical collection of Bavarian saints commissioned by Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria. In his work, Rader offered probably the best description of Bavarian piety as envisioned by Maximilian and his Jesuit assistants during the confessional era:[9]

> For if you look over all parts of Bavaria, you will scarcely find a place that is not marked by monuments of cult and religion. Cities, fortresses, marketplaces, districts, villages, fields, forests, mountains, and valleys breathe and show the Catholic and Old Religion in Bavaria. They are all full of sacred buildings, wide cloisters, new theological colleges, magnificent churches, innumerable chapels, relics, columns with depictions of saints, pilgrimage hostels, hospitals, and homes for the elderly and orphans… Relics occupy a large section of the Bavarian land so that

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[8] Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660*, 12, 42; for a more ecumenical alternative to confessionalization at this time in Vienna, see especially Howard Louthan, *The Quest for Compromise. Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); see also Friedrich Heer, *Die dritte Kraft. Der europäische Humanismus zwischen den Fronten des konfessionellen Zeitalters* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, 1959).

[9] Trevor Johnson, "Holy Dynasts and Sacred Soil: Politics and Sanctity in Matthaeus Rader's *Bavaria Sancta* (1615–1628)," in *Europa sacra: Raccolte agiografiche e identità politiche in Europa fra Medioevo ed Età moderna*, eds. Sofia Boesch Gajano e Raimondo Michetti (Rome: Carocci, 2002), 83–100; Gerhard P. Woeckel, *Pietas Bavarica: Wallfahrt, Prozession und Ex voto-Gabe im Hause Wittelsbach in Ettal, Wessobrunn, Altötting und der Landeshauptstadt München von der Gegenreformation bis zur Säkularisation und der "Renovatio Ecclesiae"* (Weissenhorn, A.H. Konrad, 1992), 9; Breuer, "Absolutistische Staatsreform und neue Frömmigkeitsformen," 9, 14–20; Hubensteiner, *Vom Geist des Barock*, 26.

> it would be difficult to count them up individually because the entire region is nothing other than religion and appears as a single communal folk church.[10]

Rader's depiction of Bavaria in 1615 was more a description of Maximilian's zealous goal than reality, although much of this vision would become substantive by Maximilian's death.[11] During these same formative years, the United Provinces also employed landscape imagery to create a new sense of identity.[12] Indeed, Rader's statement that the "entire region is nothing other than religion" is a pun referring to the formula for the Peace of Augsburg ("whose region, their religion" *cuius regio eius religio*).[13] Although Maximilian inherited his general confessionalization program from his forbearers, Albrecht V and Wilhelm V, he gave it greater organization as manifest in his foreign and domestic policies, laws, and religious endowments.[14]

The Jesuit focus on the upper classes is still manifest in the extraordinary number of Latin works devoted to Maximilian's project, including the masterpiece just quoted, *Bavaria Sancta*. Maximilian first proposed this work for the Jesuit Matthäus Rader in 1610, and it was eventually published in four volumes (1615, 1624, 1627, 1628), but a German translation did not appear until 1714 when Maximilian Raßler translated it with the title *Heiliges Bayerland*.[15] Maximilian's patronage of Rader's literary work also reflected the confesssionalization of humanism among the Wittelsbachs. The Bavarian Wittelsbachs, along with their Palatine cousins, had already devoted themselves to literary patronage, especially of classical learning, when they introduced Italian Renaissance humanism into Germany during the *Quattrocento*. The Bavarian Wittelsbachs had turned the University of Ingolstadt into an important bastion for Renaissance humanism. Likewise, the Palatine Wittelsbachs, especially under Frederick I, made Heidelberg a

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[10] Matthäus Rader, *Bavaria Sancta*, quoted in Peter Bernhard Steiner's chapter "Der gottselige Fürst und die Konfessionalisierung Altbayerns," in *Um Glauben und Reich*, ed. H. Glaser, 253.

[11] P. Steiner, 253.

[12] Tanja Michalsky, "Die Natur der Nation. Überlegungen zur 'Landschaft' als Ausdruck nationaler Identität," in *Europa im 17. Jahrhundert. Ein politischer Mythos und seine Bilder*, eds. Klaus Bußmann and Elke Anna Werner (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2004), 333–354; Benjamin Schmid, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570–1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[13] P. Steiner, 253.

[14] Ibid.; Albrecht, *Maximilian I. von Bayern, 1573–1651*, 285–286; Woeckel, 9.

[15] P. Steiner, 253.

renowned center for Renaissance humanism. Indeed, the Renaissance humanist Conrad Celtis was so grateful for all of the Wittelsbachs' patronage of *belles lettres* that he wrote a "Panegyric to the Dukes of Bavaria."[16]

The secular manner of description used in Celtis's portrait of the geographical features that shaped the Bavarian landscape is in striking contrast with that of Rader's later confessionalized version of Bavaria. Celtis identified Bavaria not by its pilgrimage sites, but by the descriptions used by ancient Romans. Hence, he referred to the country lying between the Danube and the Alps as "Noricum," the term Tacitus used for this region in his *Annales*.[17] Likewise, he referred to the mountains lying adjacent to the forest region extending from the Black Forest to the Harz as the "Hercynian" mountains, as did Pliny.[18] Thus, in contrast to the confessional continuity that Rader envisioned, Celtis underscored the classical continuity between ancient Bavaria and the Bavaria of Duke Georg:

> But another will be my Phoebus . . . who will be addressed in my poem, as it should be, to whom the powerful Danube gives service and the open fields of Noricum which are near the Alps and the Hercynian Mountains and the Viennese Forest . . . and the other which the noble Palatinate of the great Rhine rules, embraced in the bonds of familial love.[19]

The fifteenth-century "bonds of familial love" between the Bavarian and Palatine Wittelsbachs to which Celtis referred snapped in the confessional age, yet charity was a critical means that both the sides used to demonstrate devotion as well as underscore their roles as defenders of the faith in their territories. For example, Renata of Lorraine was very active in poor relief. She devoted most of her income as Duchess of Bavaria to the poor. She personally attended to the sick and destitute, providing food, medicine, and clothing. Likewise, she and her husband, Wilhelm V, also engaged in mystical acts of charity that evoked images of Jesus washing the feet of his apostles. For example, in 1580 Renata washed the feet of twelve poor virgins while Wilhelm

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[16] Conrad Celtis, *Panegyris ad duces Bavariae*, in *Panegyris ad duces Bavariae. Mit Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, ed. Joachim Gruber (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2003).

[17] Ibid., 3.12; *A Latin Dictionary*, ed. Lewis and Short (Oxford: Clarendon), s.v. "Noricum."

[18] Ibid., 3.13; *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. "Hercynia silva."

[19] Ibid., 3.10–15.

washed the feet of twelve poor men dressed as apostles.[20] This ritual performed by Catholic rulers at the time reflected the intimate connection between dynastic and religious symbolism, since it was once a ritual performed by the popes during the Middle Ages. It was a ritual that simultaneously expressed humility as well as legitimacy.[21]

Unlike these more personalized demonstrations of charity, the Palatine Wittelsbachs relied more on the structural mechanisms in place for poor relief found in Ottheinrich's Lutheran territorial model and Calvin's Geneva. For social assistance there were poor and alms ordinances. Under the supervision of the *Kirchenrat* (Church Council), the leaders of each congregation chose two persons to collect alms. No one could abstain from this service, including the nobles and those associated with the university, for all were considered as members of the body of Christ. It was also not uncommon to convert former convents into hospitals and orphanages.[22] The primary origins of poverty were believed to be laziness, drunkenness, and vices. Thus, the government forced physically capable beggars to work, and if they refused, they were expelled from the land. Those allowed to receive state financial assistance were those in emergencies out of their control, sick, and isolated elderly. Funding for the alms came from violators of police ordinances, church discipline ordinances, and collections at public gatherings. There were boxes for offerings located in churches, guild halls, and inns.[23]

Despite these acts of charity, their obligations to defend the 'true faith' gave the Wittelsbachs no love for those they considered heretics. Indeed, in an age of state churches, heresy and treason were usually synonymous. For example, most Protestants and Catholics considered Anabaptists a threat to public order and princely rule. Thus, when the Palatine Elector Frederick III issued an edict threatening capital punishment against Anabaptists in 1573, it was in the spirit of the times. So also was Frederick III's move against Antitrinitarians from 1570–1572 that culminated in the execution of the Ladenburger superintendent, Johannes Sylvanus. Jews were no more tolerated in the Palatinate and Bavaria than they had been in the late Middle

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[20] Crignis-Mentelberg, 68–88.

[21] Mart Bax, "Religious Regimes and State Formation: Towards a Research Perspective," *Anthropological Quarterly* 60 (1987): 8.

[22] Schaab, "Obrigkeitlicher Calvinismus und Genfer Gemeindemodell," 54–55.

[23] Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 46–47.

Ages. Also, under Frederick III, there was a major effort at replacing Lutherans in the clerical offices throughout the land with Calvinists who often came from the Netherlands and Switzerland. During the long rein of Frederick III, Calvinism made significant progress in the Lower Palatinate but not the Upper Palatinate. This was due to the resistance from the Lutheran Estates of the Upper Palatinate, and from members of Frederick III's own family, including his heir Ludwig VI who remained Lutheran.[24]

Ludwig VI attempted to restore Lutheranism only three months after the death of Frederick III. In January of 1577 he handed over the court chapel, the Holy Ghost Church, to a Lutheran pastor and then, because they refused to convert to Lutheranism, he ordered the expulsion of about five hundred Calvinist pastors, teachers, and their families from the Palatinate. Following Ludwig VI's death, his brother Johann Casimir, acting as regent for his nephew Frederick IV, initially promoted bi-confessional tolerance for both Calvinists and Lutherans. However, the tensions were too great, and soon Calvinist confessionalization returned to the Palatinate in full force under his regency. Elector Frederick IV and his son Frederick V were also zealous in this endeavor.[25]

The Bavarian Wittelsbachs were no less zealous than their Palatine relations when it came to confessionalizing their territories. Indeed, 1563 not only marked the year that Frederick III initiated the Calvinist Reformation in his territories, it also marked the close of the Council of Trent. The Council of Trent inaugurated a new era with measures promoting the Catholic Reformation and the Counter Reformation. The demand by Protestants in Bavaria to partake of the communion in two kinds also became a wake up call for Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria because he felt that his authority was being challenged. Thus, the years 1563 to 1564 witnessed the intensification of Catholic confessionalization in Bavaria according to Tridentine principles. In 1568 the faculty at the University of Ingolstadt had to swear an oath to follow the Tridentine program, and in 1569 the same oath was required of teachers, clergy, and officials in Bavaria. Also, in 1569 the Salzburg Provincial Synod and the Religion Tribunal Meeting in Munich declared a mandate for censorship according to the Roman Index, a

[24] Ibid., 47–76.
[25] Ibid.

general school ordinance ensuring uniformity, a general church visitation for 1569/70, and the establishment of a clerical advisory college. The roots of these measures lie with the introduction of the Jesuits into Bavaria in 1549. The Wittelsbachs' political advantage in working with the Jesuits was that it offered them a direct link with church authorities in Rome so that they could bypass local bishops in Bavaria. Also, with Jesuit assistance, the Wittelsbachs were able to gain greater control over the University of Ingolstadt and severely limit the university's independent status as a corporation which dated from the late Middle Ages.[26]

Albrecht V's son, Wilhelm V, continued the policies of his father. In a letter to Wilhelm V in 1580, the Jesuit Peter Canisius praised Wilhem V's efforts in protecting Bavaria from heresy and called his actions "heroic." Specifically, he mentioned the confiscation of "heretical" books as part of Wilhelm V's decision to enforce the Index of Forbidden Books and allow only for the publication and sale of books approved by the Jesuit censors. Canisius also warned him to be vigilant against the Frankfurt Book Fair which frequently spread "heretical" books throughout Germany.[27] Earlier, in 1563, as part of letter expressing his dedication of his commentaries on the book of Jeremiah, John Calvin praised Frederick III's zeal in defending the Palatinate against heresy as "heroic" in nature, just as Canisius had described Wilhelm V's.[28]

An important aspect of confessionalization was the establishment of church visitations, which the rulers used to enforce their version of orthodox teachings and liturgy. This was done through commissions performing church inspections and offering recommendations. The *Visitatio Bavarica* of 1558/60 was the first combined ducal and episcopal general church visitation of the land. The report was discouraging and blamed much on the ignorance of the clergy themselves. The Bavarian ambassador, Augustin Paumgartner, presented the results at the Council of Trent on 27 June 1562. In 1573 the Catholic Church

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[26] Alfred Kohler, "Bayern als Vorbild für die innerösterreichische Gegenreformation," in *Katholische Reform und Gegenreformation in Innerösterreich 1564–1628*, eds. F.M. Dolinar, M. Liebmann, and H. Rumpler (Graz: Hermagorn, 1994), 387–401.

[27] Peter Canisius to Wilhelm V (August 8, 1580), in *Beati Petri Canisii societatis Iesu. Epistulae et Acta*, ed. Otto Braunsberger (Freiburg: Herder & Co., 1922), 550–553.

[28] John Calvin to Friedrich III (Geneva, July 1563), in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhohn, vol. 2, 1037.

opened the *Congregatio Germanica* which consisted of a group of cardinals given great influence on the decisions being made to revive the Catholic Church in the Empire. Besides the Bavarian Wittelsbachs and the Jesuits, the Dominican Felician Ninguarda, as the apostolic reform commissioner for Salzburg and later as a papal nuncio, also played an important role in the bishops' efforts to revive Catholicism in Bavarian lands.[29]

In 1583 the Concordat between Duke Wilhelm V, the Archbishop of Salzburg, and the bishops of Chiemsee, Passau, Regensburg, and Freising helped pave the way for greater cooperation. Bartolomeo Portia and Ninguarda, supported by the Jesuits, played a major role in recruiting Bavarian students for the *Collegium Germanicum* in Rome. The papacy first established the *Collegium Germanicum* in 1552 to help improve the education of clergy in Germany, and Pope Gregory XIII renewed its mission as the "German College." Albrecht V, members of the *Congregatio Germanica* (Cardinals Hosius and Otto Truchseß von Waldburg), and Peter Canisius supported the German College because they deemed it necessary for the survival of the Church in Germany. Jakob Miller was also an energetic reformer while serving as the Regensburg episcopal administrator for Wilhelm V's underage son Philipp Wilhelm. Miller worked closely with Wilhelm V to overcome Chapter resistance in Regensburg to allow the establishment of a Jesuit college there.[30] The attempts to make reforms recommended by visitations were not always easy. For example, later Maximilian faced stiff popular protests by Protestants in the Imperial City of Augsburg when he advocated that the recently converted Catholic city council employ the Gregorian calendar in 1583.[31]

The Palatine Wittelsbachs were just as vigorous in using church visitations as a means of religious and social control as their Bavarian counterparts. Ottheinrich set forth the Heidelberg Visitation Order of 1556 which authorized church officials and church community leaders,

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[29] Karl Hausberger, "Die kirchlichen Träger der katholischen Reform in Bayern," in *Um Glauben und Reich*, ed. H. Glaser, 115–116.

[30] Francesco C. Cesareo, "The Collegium Germanicum and the Ignatian Vision of Education," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 24 (1993): 831–832; Hausberger, 117–118.

[31] Scott Dixon, "Urban and Religious Coexistence in the German Imperial City: Augsburg and Donauwörth, 1548–1608," *Central European History* 40 (2007): 12; Walter Hartinger "Konfessionalisierung des Alltags in Bayern unter Maximilian I," *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landes-geschichte* 65 (2002): 123–156.

supported by secular officials, to inspect the nature of the teaching and worship services, clerical behavior in office, the morals of the community, and the settling of complaints. Like the Bavarian visitation of 1558, the Palatine Lutheran visitation for 1559 offered a depressing report. The Palatine visitation complained of ignorance, poor church attendance, and holding on to "papal" ceremonies as well as the spread of Anabaptism into the areas of Kreuznach and Neustadt. The visitation record's pessimism about the success of Lutheran endeavors to make a more godly society prompted Ottheinrich's successor, Frederick III, to finish the reform movement established by Luther in a similar manner to that which the Puritans' attempted in England. Indeed, Calvinists in the Empire usually referred to themselves as "Reformed" rather than "Calvinist" because they considered their activities as completing the reformation envisioned by Luther.[32]

Frederick III was convinced of the need for Christian discipline on the model of the primitive church. In fact, Frederick III attributed the increase of Anabaptists as evidence of both improper education and immorality. In 1562, Frederick III implemented police ordinances against blasphemy and neglect to attend church services. In 1564, Frederick III lauded the unity of the Huguenots and their rigorously enforced discipline. Likewise, he praised the Dutch Calvinists as well. However, unlike the Dutch Calvinists and Huguenots, the Palatine church organization did not follow as closely to Calvin's model. Instead of the congregation choosing church Elders as in Calvin's conception, in the Palatinate, the municipal authorities responsible to the Elector appointed church Elders. Thus, the Heidelberg model of church authority remained closer to that of the Lutheran territorial lords, which allowed the Electors to maintain stricter control over the church.[33] In this arena, Frederick III was supported by his physician and theological advisor Thomas Erastus. Erastus's defense of the right of civil authorities to enforce moral discipline echoed the late medieval argument of Marsilius of Padua to place the disciplinary power in the hands of secular authorities rather than the papacy.[34]

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[32] Schaab, "Obrigkeitlicher Calvinismus und Genfer Gemeindemodell," 43–51.

[33] Ibid.; Cohn, "The Territorial Princes in Germany's Second Reformation, 1559–1622," 142–149.

[34] Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform 1250–1550. An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 149.

The dispute over outward religious devotion was hot in the Palatinate. Many Lutherans were angry with Calvinist activities that reduced church festivals drastically from thirty to less than ten, as well as suppressed the use of images, organ music, and funeral services at graves.[35] These disputes were also taking place in other areas where the Calvinist reformation made headway. Nevertheless, Calvinist official disapproval of these activities did not always mean actual compliance, as was the case for organ playing in the Dutch Republic.[36]

Frederick III's model was the biblical king Josiah who abolished idolatry and restored true worship among the ancient Israelites.[37] In a protocol to his sons and trusted advisors in 1564, Frederick III admonished them to be diligent against Satan as defenders of the faith and to follow the example of King Josiah.[38] In 1565, Frederick III ordered the removal of altars, crucifixes, and other "idolatrous" works from the churches within a month. Nevertheless, a decade later these could still be found in some churches in no small number. Confiscated liturgical dress was also supposed to be given over to the poor, and ones made from expensive textiles were to be sent to Heidelberg. In stark contrast with Bavarian Wittelsbachs' patronage of monastic orders, Frederick III abolished 40 monasteries in his territories. Although a number of them were already abandoned, Frederick III used physical force against the remaining monks and nuns who refused to give up their clerical attire and attend Protestant sermons. He encountered serious resistance from the nuns in particular.[39] Besides genuine religious conviction, the limited options for female activities outside of the nunneries probably explains why he had the most trouble with nuns, just as Lutheran magistrates had in the Imperial Cities of Strasbourg and Nuremberg.[40]

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[35] Cohn, "The Territorial Princes in Germany's Second Reformation, 1559–1622," 142–149.

[36] Henry A. Bruinsma, "The Organ Controversy in the Netherlands Reformation to 1640," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 7 (1954): 205–212.

[37] Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 36–46.

[38] Friedrich III to Ludwig VI, Johann Casimir et al. (Heidelberg, July 1, 1564), in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhohn, vol. 1, 513–515.

[39] Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 36–46.

[40] Amy Leonard, *Nails in the Wall: Catholic Nuns in Reformation Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Paula Barker, "Caritas Pirckheimer: A Female Humanist Confronts the Reformation," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26 (1995): 259–272.

An example of Frederick's zeal against recalcitrant monks was an occasion in 1565 when he dealt with the refusal of the monastery of Sinsheim to abolish the mass. He sent handworkers into the building to rip out the altars, panels, wooden images and take these, along with books and similar items, and burn them in his presence.[41] Indeed, Frederick III personally participated in iconoclast visitations of the churches. For example, it is recorded that he once used his own fist to punch through a painted crucifixion scene in the room of the prioress of Liebenau. The action at Liebenau demonstrates how much the ideal of Wittelsbach leadership had been confessionalized, because Dorothea of Wittelsbach (1439–1482), a granddaughter of Ruprecht King of the Germans, had actually been a prioress there. Frederick III's grandson, Frederick IV, followed in his grandfather's footsteps by personally exhorting the inhabitants of Heidelberg to overcome their weaknesses at the time of the visitations of 1593–5. He did the same in the Upper Palatinate from 1596 and 1598. However, the use of force to Calvinize the Palatinate made it even harder for Lutherans to accept Calvinist claims of irenic Protestantism.[42]

Besides Frederick III's imitation of King Josiah in his confrontation with 'idolatry,' his use of physical force should also be seen within Frederick's apocalyptic perspective as well. Like Luther, Frederick III believed that he was living in the Last Days. He was convinced that there was little time to answer for his stewardship before the Lord visited the Palatinate and the Empire with fire and brimstone for their sins.[43] As early as 1560 he expressed this eschatological concern in his correspondence in an effort to counter claims that he was tolerating Calvinist "heresy." He noted that he was only willing to abolish heresy when he was sure what was heretical and what was not. At that time, he was not quite sure which religious claims represented the wheat and which the tares that should be rooted out:

> I know also, however, like it is at the time of the harvest, that is the Last Day, they claim responsibility before the father of the house, that is before Christ our Lord and Savior, who because He has ordered and

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[41] Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 36–46.

[42] Cohn, "The Territorial Princes in Germany's Second Reformation, 1559–1622," 150, 157.

[43] For Luther, see Heiko Oberman, *Luther. Man between God and the Devil* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

> commanded, like the servants in the parable in Matthew 13, that they let them grow up together until it is harvest time so that they do not pull out the wheat with them.[44]

Through his own reading of the Bible and the persuasion of Calvinist counselors, Frederick III a few years later was certain that he could distinguish the wheat from the tares. Indeed, his Calvinist court preacher, Johann Willing, in a sense encouraged Frederick III's eschatological perspective by claiming that his efforts to stamp out heresy would provide the Palatinate with protection from the physical terrors associated with the Old Testament and the end time:

> We read from the holy evangelist Luke…like elsewhere, that our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ has given a true warning to us all mankind, that in the last days, along with other disasters and various plagues that will come over the world, there will be pestilences all over…because, however, pestilence and similar plagues are of this type and nature, so it follows without contradiction that they are, and can not be anything else than, proof of God's wrath and sharp rod so that He, as a just God, can visit and punish mankind for their transgressions and diverse sins like such as found in Exodus 5…will show.[45]

Nevertheless, two years after Willing's encouragement, Johann Casimir appealed to the same metaphor of the wheat and the tares that his father had used to remind him that caution should still be used, since many apostles and early church martyrs had been persecuted in the past by rulers who believed that they were members of "sects," just as the papacy persecuted "heretics."[46] Nevertheless, by that time, Friedrich III was confident in his ability to discern the wheat from the tares and continued to zealously confessionalize his territory.

The catechism, a hallmark of the confessional age, served as the premier instrument for enforcing the Wittelsbachs' religion. Both the Palatine and Bavarian church visitations convinced Wittelsbach rulers

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[44] Friedrich III to Johann Friedrich (Heidelberg, April 7, 1560), in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhohn, vol. 1, 135–136.

[45] Johann Willing, *Vierzehen Predigten von gewisser Bewarung vnd Arztney wider allen schrecken gefar und schaden der schnelhinreissen den Pestilentz und dergleichen plagen auch des leiblichen thodes…*(Heidelberg, 1564), 1–3. Rare book. Reformation in Heidelberg, HEW-94: Leiden: IDC Publishers, 1998. Text-fiche.

[46] Johann Casimir to Friedrich III (Heidelberg, January 23, 1566) selection from "Memorial in causa religionis," in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhohn, vol. 1, 627–629.

that instruction in catechisms was necessary to improve the spiritual status of their territories. The Bavarian Wittelsbachs promoted the use of Peter Canisius's Catechism, a catechism that went through 200 editions and 12 translations in Canisius's own life time.[47] In a letter to Wilhelm V, Canisius encouraged him to use his new edition of the catechism for schools in Bavaria. In addition, he praised Wilhelm V's generosity and support of the University of Ingolstadt, the theologians there, and the Jesuits in general. He also recounted the miracles associated with the land of Bavaria defending true religion since the beginning and compared it to the prosperous land of Goshen given to the Israelites that separated them from the impious Egyptians.[48]

The Palatine Wittelsbachs created their own catechism that influenced Calvinist communities from Holland to Hungary. Frederick III commissioned Caspar Olevianus to compose the Heidelberg Catechism. Like the *Oberrat* (High Council), the *Kirchenrat* (Church Council) was a court organ with close ties to the University of Heidelberg, and Olevianus was Frederick III's court preacher, who had previously served as a professor of theology at the university. Catechisms were a popular medium for clergy to indoctrinate the population because they combined oral and visual forms of communication to both a literate and illiterate audience. The Heidelberg Catechism in particular held a prominent position among Transylvanian Calvinists.[49] Likewise, the Heidelberg Catechism was officially recognized by the Dutch Reformed Church at the Synod of Dordrecht (1618–1619); however, it did not end the controversies between strict Calvinism and the ornamental liturgical high church tendencies of the Arminians.[50]

The Heidelberg Catechism also mirrored the diverse religious influences on Palatine Calvinism. For example, one striking absence from the Heidelberg Catechism was the doctrine of predestination. The sac-

[47] Paul Begheyn, "The Catechism (1555) of Peter Canisius, the Most Published Book by a Dutch Author in History," *Quarendo* 36 (2006): 51–84.

[48] Peter Canisius to Wilhelm V (Dilling 27 Jan. 1571), in *Beati Petri Canisii societatis Iesu. Epistulae et Acta*, ed. O. Braunsberger, 429–431.

[49] Graeme Murdock, "Calvinist catechizing and Hungarian Reformed Identity," in *Confessional Identity in East-Central Europe*, eds. Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta, and Graeme Murdock (Burlington: Ashgate, 2002), 81–88.

[50] Charles Parker, "To the Attentive, Nonpartisan Reader: The Appeal to History and National Identity in the Religious Disputes of the Sixteenth-Century Netherlands," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28 (1997): 57–78.

ramental views reflected Philippist and Zwinglian influence as well.[51] Even the music associated with the Heidelberg Catechism was strongly influenced by Lutheranism.[52] Much of this eclectic nature owed its origins to the patron of the catechism, Frederick III. He personally demanded that the Heidelberg Catechism and the church ordinance of 1563 be in harmony with the Bible as he understood it. Likewise, it was a product of his desire to end the confusion that had developed in the Palatinate with the use of two different Lutheran catechisms.[53]

A salient characteristic of the spreading of Calvinism in the Empire was the important role of territorial leaders. There were very few urban Calvinist reformations in the Empire with large popular appeal as had been the case with Lutheranism in many Free Imperial Cities. Thus, by the 1555 Peace of Augsburg, Calvinists were largely unknown in the Empire and therefore not recognized or protected by this peace settlement.[54] German Calvinist rulers always claimed they adhered to the Confession of Augsburg so that they could be considered protected under the Peace of Augsburg. In fact, the protection was needed. For example, the Lutheran Count Palatine Wolfgang of Zweibrücken was so upset about the Heidelberg Catechism that he pushed to condemn his relative's activities as illegal at the Augsburg Imperial Diet in 1566.[55]

Not just political calculation, but genuine religious convictions also played a role in the hybrid nature of German Calvinism. Following the victory of the Gnesio-Lutherans over the Philippists (followers of Philipp of Melanchton), many Philippists became "crypto-Calvinists" or Calvinists and went to Heidelberg and Nassau-Dillenburg. Also, it was a letter from Philipp Melanchton in 1559 that helped persuade Frederick III of the more symbolic attitude towards the elements in the Eucharist.[56] Melanchton had studied at the University of Heidelberg from 1509–1512, and in 1557 Ottheinrich called Melanchton to reorganize the university along Lutheran lines. There had also been a close

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[51] L.D. Bierma, *The Doctrine of the Sacraments in the Heidelberg Catechism: Melanchtonian, Calvinist or Zwinglian?* (Princeton: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1999).

[52] Walter Henss, *Die Heidelberg Katechismus im konfessionspolitischen Kräftespiel seiner Frühzeit* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1983), 36–38.

[53] Cohn, "The Territorial Princes in Germany's Second Reformation, 1559–1622," 145–150.

[54] Ibid., 138.

[55] Schaab, "Obrigkeitlicher Calvinismus und Genfer Gemeindemodell," 36–41.

[56] Cohn, "The Territorial Princes in Germany's Second Reformation, 1559–1622," 144–148.

connection between former students of Melanchton and Heidelberg theologians. Furthermore, the German Calvinist reform movement from the beginning blended Philippist and Genevan influences.[57]

In his last testament, Frederick III expressed his strong desire that his descendants adhere to the Heidelberg Catechism, just as the children of Israel were supposed to follow the Ten Commandments after Moses' death.[58] Nevertheless, Frederick III's son did not imitate Joshua's succession in the manner that Frederick had hoped. His son, Ludwig VI, was a Gnesio-Lutheran and attempted to use adherence to the Lutheran Catechism and the Formula of Concord (1580) as a litmus test for loyalty to his regime. When Ludwig VI passed away, his brother Johann Casimir, as regent for Frederick IV, initially attempted to create a Calvinist state that tolerated Lutheranism. For example, on the 19 February 1584, Casimir enacted the decree *Mandatum de non calumniando* which was supposed to bring unity and stronger defense against popery. It focused on common ground, but no one was allowed to criticize the Heidelberg Catechism. Despite this attempt, a pamphlet war raged between Heidelberg, Tübingen, and Strasbourg over the legitimacy of the Heidelberg Catechism. This led to a more complete Calvinist restoration using the same techniques that Ludwig VI had implemented for Lutheran confessionalization. Casimir dismissed Lutheran clergy, teachers, students; and those that had been in exile returned. As an outward symbol of the restored order, in 1585 Casimir put out a new church order modeled after his father's. Although Calvinists thought Casimir's actions demonstrated that he was a new Joshua, Ludwig VI's former Lutheran court chaplain referred to the regime change as the rise of another wicked King Ahab or Jeroboam of the Old Testament. One effect of these sudden confessional changes in the Palatinate was that a portion of the population became more skeptical about religion. For example, in the 1590s there were complaints that there were more people at the market place than the church during sermons. Likewise, in 1592, Frederick IV told the Estates of the Upper Palatinate that he had no intention of offending

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[57] Herman J. Selderhuis, "'Ille Phoenix: Melanchton und der Heidelberger Calvinismus 1583–1622," in *Melanchton und der Calvinismus*, eds. id. and Günter Frank (Stuttgart: Frommann-Hozbook, 2005): 45–46.

[58] Friedrich III, *Das Testament Friedrichs des Frommen, Churfürsten von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhon, 69.

anyone's conscience; nevertheless, he attempted Calvinist confessionalization anyway.[59]

For all of the Wittelsbachs, as for many other dynasties in the Empire, universities were critical vehicles in confessionalizing territories.[60] Concomitantly, university faculty members often served as officials within the territorial administration.[61] German rulers did not establish universities in their territories just for political prestige; they were also influenced by the medieval mirror of prince tradition.[62] The universities became key articulators of the confessional territorial states. Erasmus feared confessionalization's affect on Renaissance humanism and even claimed that the spreading of Lutheranism into the Empire would be the death of good letters. However, Lutheranism's emphasis on the original biblical languages actually prompted Catholics and Calvinists to employ humanist training for confessional purposes, culminating in an increased status for the arts faculty.[63] Indeed, Luther thought that only the Devil delighted in unreformed universities.[64]

From its foundation, the University of Heidelberg was a product of Wittelsbach patronage for the service of the territory. Because of the Wittelsbach court and weak economy in Heidelberg, the Wittelsbachs had considerable control over the university. The university itself reflected the late medieval dynastic competition in the Empire, since Elector Ruprecht I (later King of the Germans) founded the university in 1386 not long after Emperor Charles IV of the Luxembourg dynasty established the University of Prague and the Habsburg Duke Rudolf inaugurated the University of Vienna. To establish a university at the time, a German prince needed either the approval of the Emperor or the pope, and Ruprecht received his from the pope. As far as the

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[59] Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 83–86, 93.

[60] Lewis Spitz, "The Importance of the Reformation for the Universities: Culture and Confessions in the Critical Years," in *Rebirth, Reform and Resilience. Universities in Transition 1300–1700*, ed. James Kittelson (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1984), 56; Heiko Oberman, "University and Society on the Threshold of Modern Times: The German Connection," in *Rebirth, Reform and Resilience. Universities in Transition 1300–1700*, ed. J. Kittelson, 36–37.

[61] Weber, *Prudentia Gubernatoria*, 337.

[62] Oberman, "University and Society on the Threshold of Modern Times," 23.

[63] Notker Hammerstein, "Universitätsgeschichte im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation am Ende der Renaissance," in *Das Ende der Renaissance: Europäische Kultur um 1600*, eds. August Buck and Tibor Klaniczay (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1987), 109, 114; Spitz, "The Importance of the Reformation for the Universities," 58–59.

[64] Spitz, "The Importance of the Reformation for the Universities," 42.

university structure itself, much of the inspiration and people came from the University of Paris and Prague, especially Prague.[65]

The intimate connection between the Wittelsbach rulers' identity as defenders of the faith and patronage of the University of Heidelberg also had roots in its late medieval foundations. In the medieval manner, the university defined itself as a clerical community, an identity reflected in the 1413 establishment of the Holy Ghost Chapel, as well as in the fact that ecclesiastical benefices' proceeds were given to professors (normally of the upper faculties). Heidelberg citizens at the time associated the students' dress and Latin discourse with the clergy; indeed, the majority of students in these early years held some form of clerical status. Likewise, the university regularly met for worship services after the model of a religious community, and the university magistrates declared as university holidays five Marian festivals, the name days for St. Catherine, St. Nicholas, Peter, and Paul, as well as All Saints Day.[66]

A reforming spirit at the University of Heidelberg was also evident from the beginning since legal reform and Conciliarism also played a role in the university's establishment, and it became an important center for the spread of Renaissance humanism. Later, Ottheinrich called in Melanchton to transform the university along Lutheran lines from 1557–1558.[67] An important motivation for Frederick III's interest in the university was to seek scholars who could counter the Jesuits, whom he associated with the Spanish Habsburg threat. He also intended to use schools and universities for confessionalizing the land, and the University of Heidelberg became a magnet for international students who were Calvinists and had anti-Habsburg and anti-papal sentiments. The international character of the university was also

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[65] Volker Press, "Hof, Stadt und Territorium. Die Universität Heidelberg in der Kurpfalz 1386–1802," in *Semper Apertus: Sechshundert Jahre Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg in der Kurpfalz, 1386–1986*, ed. Wilhelm Doerr (Heidelberg: Springer, 1985), 45–47; Peter Moraw, "Heidelberg: Universität, Hof und Stadt im ausgehenden Mittelalter," in *Studien zum städtischen Bildungswesen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, eds., Bernd Moeller et al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 524–552.

[66] Matthias Nuding, "Die Universität, der Hof und die Stadt um die Wende zum 15. Jahrhundert: Fragen an die ältesten Heidelberger Rektoratsakten," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 146 (1998): 206–209.

[67] Spitz, "The Course of German Humanism," 396–397; id., "The Importance of the Reformation for the Universities," 47, 55–56.

evident in the fact that foreign rectors were elected at the university 12 times from 1560–1610.[68]

Nevertheless, the Calvinist continuity at the university experienced a serious challenge between the death of Frederick III and the return of Johann Casimir as regent for Frederick IV. Following Frederick III's death in December of 1577, his eldest son Ludwig VI dismissed three important Calvinist theology professors from the University of Heidelberg: Pierre Boquin, Immanuel Tremellius and Hieronymous Zanchius. However, Ludwig VI spared most of the university. Professors even had the right to attend sacrament services in Palatinate-Lautern, governed by Johann Casimir. In 1580 Ludwig VI required professors to adhere to the Formula of Concord, but he still allowed them liberty of conscience. However, the freedom was very limited. For example, Ludwig VI forbade them to attend secret conventicles and required them to attend Lutheran worship service. Likewise, he demanded that their families and all others living in their households attend afternoon sermons and receive instruction in the Lutheran Catechism. Also, Ludwig VI did not allow them to dispute with the Lutheran clergy, discuss dogmatic differences when teaching, nor convert the youth from Lutheranism. Under these conditions, only three out of fourteen Calvinist professors stayed. Many who left the university flocked to Casimir's territory and began making the Gymnasium in Neustadt, the *Collegium Casimirianum*, a counterweight to Lutheran Heidelberg. When Casimir became regent for Frederick IV, many Lutheran professors left Heidelberg, and Casimir replaced them with the formerly exiled Calvinist professors.[69]

The Calvinist Heidelberg court librarian, Janus Gruterus, stated that "in that place where the true church is, letters flourish," and the University of Heidelberg even earned the epithet as the "Third Geneva," after the universities of Geneva and Leiden. Although Heidelberg was a prominent center for Calvinized humanism, it still inherited much of the Philippist tradition and was also a source of late humanist irenic thought among Protestants.[70] For example, Victorin Strigel

[68] Notker Hammerstein, "Vom 'Dritten Genf' zur Jesuiten-Universität: Heidelberg in der frühen Neuzeit," in *Die Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg*, ed. Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, 38–40; Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660*, 36–39.

[69] Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 76–78, 85.

[70] Hammerstein, "Vom 'Dritten Genf' zur Jesuiten-Universität," 38–40; Gruterus quoted on p. 39.

(1524–1569), a student of Melanchton, became a professor of ethics at the University of Heidelberg in 1567 and modified the Aristotelian system of ethics into one that fit into his theological perspective.[71] Also, Johann Jungnitz believed that reason was a valid instrument in disputing Gnesio-Lutherans on doctrinal issues.[72] On the other hand, the Calvinist Abraham Scultetus later became very critical of Aristotelian ethics. He denounced it as a source of pagan foundations that did not offer the true Christian ethical perspective of happiness found in honoring God.[73] Likewise, Scultetus rejected rationalism in interpreting the scriptures and adhered to a very strict definition of *sola scriptura* (scripture only).[74]

The commonality of late Renaissance humanism in Heidelberg was a tight connection between court, university, and Calvinism. Heinrich Alting (1583–1644) from Emden was not only a Calvinist tutor for Frederick V, but also a professor of dogma at the University of Heidelberg. He wrote a history of the Palatine Reformation from a Calvinist perspective, *Historia ecclesiae Palatinae*, which first appeared in 1701. Also, three Heidelberg theology professors (Heinrich Alting, Abraham Scultetus, and Paul Toussain) participated at the Synod of Dordrecht (1618–1619) which brought international prominence to the Heidelberg Catechism, already a product of theologians from the university.[75] A classic example of the confessional competition in this arena is evident with two renowned theologians associated with the Palatine and Bavarian Wittelsbachs, who published confessionalized versions of the early Church Fathers' views. On the Bavarian side, the Jesuit Peter Canisius edited the works of St. Jerome in a manner that underscored Catholic perspectives, and later the Calvinist court preacher for Frederick IV and Frederick V, Abraham Scultetus, produced a Calvinist interpretation of the early Church.[76]

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[71] Günter Frank, "Fragmentierung und topische Neuordnung der aristotelischen Ethik in der frühen Neuzeit: Ethik bei Viktorin Strigel und Abraham Scultetus," in *Späthumanismus und reformierte Konfession*, eds. C. Strohm, et al., 156–163.

[72] Donald Sinnema, "Johann Jungnitz on the Use of Aristotelian Logic in Theology," in *Späthumanismus und reformierte Konfession*, eds. C. Strohm, et al., 137, 142, 146.

[73] Frank, 164–166.

[74] Herman Selderhuis, "Das Recht Gottes. Der Beitrag der Heidelberger Theologen zu der Debatte über die Prädestination," in *Späthumanismus und reformierte Konfession*, ed. C. Strohm, et al., 244.

[75] Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 98–99, 103, 107–108.

[76] Hilmar Pabel, "Peter Canisius as a Catholic Editor of a Catholic St. Jerome,"

Just as the University of Heidelberg rose to prominence in Protestant circles thanks to Palatine Wittelsbach patronage, so too the University of Ingolstadt gained fame as one of the foremost Catholic universities in Europe due to Bavarian Wittelsbach support. In 1436 Duke Ludwig "the Rich" of Bavaria established the University of Ingolstadt which, like the University of Heidelberg, became an important center for the development of the Northern Renaissance. Later, it served to defend Catholic interests from the beginning of the Protestant Reformation. For example, Johannes Eck from the University of Ingolstadt was Luther's formidable theological opponent.[77] Duke Wilhelm IV of Bavaria looked to the Jesuits to restore vitality to the university and clergy after the death of Eck in 1543. After considerable negotiations with Ignatius of Loyola, on November 13, 1549, the Jesuits Alfonso Sameron of Spain, Claudius Jajus of Savoy, and Peter Canisius of the Netherlands became members of the theological faculty and played a critical role in the revival of the university.[78]

Later, Duke Wilhelm V called the Jesuit Peter Canisius as rector of the university five years before Ferdinand I commissioned Canisius to publish his influential catechism. Like the Palatine Wittelsbachs, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs actively recruited foreign scholars and students, especially converts. For example, Veit Amerbach, an instructor of philosophy and rhetoric at the university, had formerly had been a professor at the Lutheran University of Wittenberg. Likewise, from 1561 to his death in 1564, another convert from Lutheranism, Friedrich Staphylus, acted as superintendent of the university.[79]

The University of Ingolstadt also served the needs of the Wittelsbach administration by supplying trained lawyers and theologians.[80] Maximilian only chose Jesuits as court confessors: Gregor of Valencia (1587–1595), Johann Buslidius of Luxembourg (1595–1623), Adam Contzen of Jülich (1624–1635), and Johann Vervaux of Lorraine (1635–1651). Besides serving as court confessors, the Jesuits were also

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Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte 96 (2005): 171–197; Irena Backus, "The Bible and the Fathers According to Abraham Scultetus, (1566–1624) and André Rivet (1571/73–1651): The Case of Basil of Caesarea," in *Die Patristik in der Bibelexegese des 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. David Steinmetz (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1999), 231–258.

[77] Spitz, "The Importance of the Reformation for the Universities," 57–58.

[78] Hausberger, 118.

[79] Lutz, 774–777.

[80] Müller, "Zur Akademisierung des Hofrates," 297–298.

very active in educational endeavors.[81] Early in his rule, Maximilian established scholarships for the University of Ingolstadt and the Jesuit College there. He also endowed new Jesuit establishments in several locations such as Altötting (1600).[82] After 1588 the Jesuits were in charge of the entire arts faculty at the University of Ingolstadt.[83]

An important part of the University of Ingolstadt's revival had to do with Albrecht V's earlier concern with confessionalizing the countryside and the need for seminaries. At the time of Albrecht V, many Benedictine and Augustinian convents were vacant, which meant unfilled pastoral positions, especially in the countryside. There was also a lack of committed candidates, and the University of Ingolstadt was in need of students. Both Protestantism and humanist criticism of the clergy were important factors in the loss of respect for the clergy in Bavaria. From 1515–1550 a critical concern for Wilhelm IV and his advisor Leonhard Eck was to keep the university functioning. They were quick to recognize the value of seminaries in preparing future clergy. In 1544 Wilhelm IV proposed to his brother Ernst, at the time the Archbishop of Salzburg, that together they establish a "college" at the university in order to educate future preachers. Thus, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs were active 20 years before the Council of Trent's decree for the establishment of seminaries. However, because of financial difficulties, they had to put the seminary proposals on the back burner for years. The Jesuits also advocated the establishment of seminaries. The Jesuit college *Collegium Albertinum* in Ingolstadt was finally finished in 1574.[84] The *Albertinum* served as a seminary for training clergy under Jesuit direction. Albrecht V and Anna of Austria earned encomium for their patronage of education. The Jesuit Augustine Maier compared Albrecht's efforts with those of Charlemagne and also made the asso-

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[81] Breuer, "Absolutistische Staatsreform und neue Frömmigkeitsformen," 277; R. van Dülmen, "Die Gesellschaft Jesu und der bayerische Späthumanismus. Ein Überblick," *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 37 (1974–358–415; E. Schubert, E. "Zur Typologie gegenreformatorischer Universitätsgründungen: Jesuiten in Fulda, Würzburg, Ingolstadt und Dillingen," in *Universität und Gelehrtenstand 1400–1800*, eds. H. Rössler und G. Franz (Limburg an der Lahn, 1970), 85–105.

[82] P. Steiner, 253.

[83] Karl Hengst, *Jesuiten an Universitäten und Jesuitenuniversitäten. Zur Geschichte der Universitäten in der Oberdeutschen und Rheinischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu im Zeitalter der konfessionellen Auseinandersetzung* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1981), 98.

[84] Arno Seifert, "Die 'Seminarpolitik' der bayerischen Herzöge im 16. Jahrhundert und die Begründung des jesuitischen Schulwesens." in *Um Glauben und Reich*, ed. H. Glaser, 125–129.

ciation between the Wittelsbachs and Habsburgs through Albrecht V's wife, Anna of Austria. Maier also linked Wittelsbach patronage with their virtues as good rulers. He praised Albrecht V for his possession of the classical virtues of justice, magnificence, liberality, and strength, and compared Anna of Austria as another Penelope for her piety.[85] This patronage by the *Landesvater* and *Landesmutter* continued with Wilhelm V and Renata of Lorraine. They laid the foundation for the Jesuit College in Munich in 1585, and had commemoration coins issued with the images of both Wilhelm and Renata.[86]

Like their Bavarian counterparts with the *Collegium Albertinum*, the Palatine Wittelsbachs also used former monastic edifices to establish their own college devoted exclusively to the confessional needs of their territory. From the second half of the sixteenth century to the Thirty Years' War, the *Collegium Sapientiae* of Heidelberg was the most famous Calvinist educational institution for the southwest German and Swiss regions and in Eastern Europe. At the end phase of Catholicism in the electoral Palatinate, Elector Frederick II (1544–1556) sent a petition to the Roman Curia in 1549 requesting the possession of an abandoned convent in order to use the proceeds to improve the University of Heidelberg, the chapel of the Heidelberg castle, as well as to establish a college that should be called the "House of Wisdom." The proceeds were also to fund scholarships for sixty to eighty worthy paupers, which would allow them to be students at the university and be trained to serve the needs of the state administration and the church. Pope Julius III approved, and in 1551 he handed over the incomes of the Benedictine convents of Graufthal and Lixheim, as well as the Augustine hermitage convents in Heidelberg and Alzey for the establishment of the college. The college came under the supervision of the electors, the dean of the arts faculty, and the two eldest arts professors acted as administrators. As a member of the Heidelberg academy, the college enjoyed all of the university privileges.[87]

In 1558 Ottheinrich turned the *Collegium Sapientiae* into a Lutheran institution and issued a statute that the only ideas that could be taught were those that conformed to the Augsburg Confession.

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[85] Augustin Maier, *De laudibus Alberti qvinti Boiorvm Dvcis… Libri Tres* (Ingolstadt, 1582), 4–5, 17–25. Rare book. German Baroque Literature: Harold Jantz Collection, no. 137. New Haven: Research Publications, 1973–1974. Text-film.

[86] Crignis-Mentelberg, 77.

[87] Eike Wolgast, "Das Collegium Sapientiae in Heidelberg im 16. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 147 (1999): 303–305.

Under Frederick III the statute was still valid; however, the *Collegium Sapientiae* became exclusively a site for a theological education. The students of the *Collegium Sapientiae* experienced a quasi-monastic environment of learning.[88] Frederick III substituted the earlier broader function with Gymnasia that he established in Heidelberg, Neuhausen, and Amberg. Frederick III cut the formal ties the *Collegium Sapientiae* had to the university and attached it to the *Kirchenrat* in 1564, but the head directors still remained theology professors. The first period of significant prosperity happened under Zacharius Ursinus (1561–77), and it continued to bloom under such eminent figures as David Pareus and Heinrich Alting. However, in 1580 Ludwig VI defined the statute concerning adherence to the Augsburg Confession within the lines of strict Lutheran orthodoxy. Under pressure from Ludwig VI, in 1577 the college dismissed 65 out of 70 scholarship-holders because they refused to accept Luther's Small Catechism and other specifically Gnesio-Lutheran tenants about the Eucharist. Two years later Ludwig VI made it formally a Lutheran institution under the direction of the theological professor Philipp Marbach, the son of the Strasbourg Church Council president, Johann Marbach. It was not until Casimir became regent that the statute returned back to the broader interpretation of the Augsburg Confession. Casimir also ousted the Lutheran leadership and replaced it with such Calvinist scholars as David Pareus.[89]

The *Collegium Sapientiae*'s reputation around 1587 was so great among Calvinists that many even referred to it as another Platonic Academy. Under Ursinus's leadership, it attracted Calvinist students from Switzerland, Silesia, Bavaria, Saxony, Hesse, France and other regions. Indeed, the college played an important role in creating theological harmony among the western European Calvinists. By the end of 1599, the Heidelberg *Kirchenrat* asserted that in the eight years since Frederick IV took power, 360 new people had entered church and school service, and 118 of them had received their education from the *Collegium Sapientiae*.[90]

During the rule of Ludwig VI in the Palatinate, his brother Johann Casimir established the *Collegium Casimiranum* in Neustadt in 1578

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[88] Id., *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 113.

[89] Wolgast, "Das Collegium Sapientiae in Heidelberg im 16. Jahrhundert," 306–309; id., *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 113.

[90] Id., "Das Collegium Sapientiae in Heidelberg im 16. Jahrhundert," 309–310, 315.

as a substitute for the Heidelberg *Collegium Sapientiae*. This new college attracted many prominent Calvinist theologians such as Ursinus and Zanchias. Following the revival of Calvinism at the University of Heidelberg, the *Casimiranum* returned back to a Gymnasium.[91] This event also demonstrates the close connection between secondary schools and universities. Classical culture and Renaissance humanism were still important for the Protestant reformers, and there was considerable continuity between German humanism from the fifteenth century to the seventeenth century, thanks to Gymnasia used by Protestants and Catholics.[92]

Matthäus Rader (1561–1634) was a Jesuit teacher at the Gymnasium of Wilhelm V in Munich, and among his former students were the Jesuit preachers, poets, and writers Georg Stengel, Jakob Bidermann and Jeremias Drexel. Rader was famous as a Neoclassicist in Bavaria and other Catholic lands during the latter half of the sixteenth century, and he passed his love for the classics on to his students.[93] The classics served as a guide, not just for the development of high quality literature, but more importantly for the development of educated Catholic elite.[94] In this manner, the Jesuits believed that they were continuing the Erasmian program of reconciling Renaissance humanism with Christianity to make a better Christian society.[95]

The Jesuit Gymnasia became the primary model for secondary humanist Latin education in Bavaria. The Jesuits at the Jesuit Gymnasium in Munich commemorated Albrecht V's funeral with the composition of a work titled *Parentalia* that demonstrated the confessionalization of humanism in this era. Originally a Parentalia was an ancient Roman festival to honor dead parents, and funerals of emperors became the model for all such festivals and associated commemorative literature.[96] The first page of the *Parentalia* exuded the hope that the new Golden Age established by Albrecht V would continue with his son Wilhelm V. It then praised Albrecht V's efforts in establishing

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[91] Schaab, "Obrigkeitlicher Calvinismus und Genfer Gemeindemodell," 66.
[92] Spitz, "The Course of German Humanism," 379–380; 434–436.
[93] Albrecht, *Maximilian I von Bayern*, 252.
[94] Schäfer, 109.
[95] John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 260–263; André Thill, *Jacob Balde: Dix ans de recherche* (Paris: Editions Champion, 1991), 216.
[96] John Scheid, "Die Parentalien für die verstorbenen Caesaren als Modell für den römischen Totenkult," *Klio* 75 (1993): 188–201.

the Jesuit Gymnasium in Munich that allowed the Muses to assist in the fight against heresy. Likewise, the text lauded Albrecht V as a "defender of the faith" and "father of his country."[97] Like his predecessors, Maximilian hoped that Jesuit Gymnasia would provide clerical and administrative personnel who would be committed to Catholicism and his rule.[98] Actually, a concentration of elite education in the cities and market areas controlled by the territorial lord provoked resistance by the Bavarian Estates, which began promoting territorial schools with a similar standardization of curriculum.[99]

The Palatine Elector Frederick III expressed his admiration for the Jesuits' efforts in establishing schools in Bavaria and in 1566 even communicated to his son-in-law that they would serve as a good model for improving secondary education in the Palatinate.[100] His son-in-law was offended, so Frederick III elaborated in a second letter that he was impressed with the Jesuits' zeal, not their doctrine. Indeed, Frederick III even claimed that those who went to Munich for an education would cease to be Christians.[101]

Despite Frederick III's admiration for Jesuit educational endeavors, it was Johann Sturm and the Strasbourg Academy that became influential in spreading Calvinism throughout the Palatine lands. Many Calvinist schools patterned their curriculum after the Strasbourg Academy.[102] Frederick III attempted to establish a Gymnasium known as the *Pädagogium* in 1560 by using the income from former convents in Sinsheim and Neuhausen and housing it in a previous Franciscan convent. One of the directors, Johann Piscator, was a former student

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[97] Societatis Jesu Monachense Gymnasio. *Parentalia: Serenissimi principis Alberti, comitis Palatini Rheni,* vtrivsqve Bauariae ducis potentissimi…(Munich, 1579), 1, 7, 32, 34. Rare book. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

[98] Albrecht, *Maximilian I von Bayern*, 306; see also Andreas Kraus, *Das Gymnasium der Jesuiten zu München (1559–1773. Staatspolitische, sozialgeschichtliche, behördengeschichtliche und kulturgeschichtliche Bedeutung* (Munich: 2001).

[99] Rolf Kießling, "'Schullandschaften'-ein Forschungsansatz für das Spätmittelater und die Frühe Neuzeit. Entwickelt anhand süddeutscher Beispiele," in *Erziehung und Schulwesen zwischen Konfessionalisierung und Säkularisierung.* eds. Heinz Schilling and Stefan Ehrenpreis (Münster: Waxmann, 2003), 43.

[100] Friedrich III to Johann Friedrich (Igelheim, August 15, 1566), in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhohn, vol. 1, 696–697.

[101] Friedrich III to Johann Friedrich (Heidelberg: October 16, 1566), in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhohn, vol. 1, 705.

[102] Cohn, "The Territorial Princes in Germany's Second Reformation, 1559–1622," 147, 151.

of Johann Sturm of Strasbourg.[103] Frederick III also brought the prominent logician Peter Ramus, a Huguenot, to Heidelberg in 1569–1570. His system of logic found its home in the *Pädagogium*.[104] For a short period of time Ramism became popular among certain Calvinists as a more 'natural' approach to dialectic than the Aristotelian logic favored by the Jesuits and others.[105]

Melchior Adam from Silesia was a teacher and rector of the Heidelberg *Pädagogium* and in 1612 published *Apographum monumentorum Haidelbergensium*, which was one of the first compilations of medieval and early modern inscriptions, especially for graves. It is one of the most important records available concerning funeral sites for the Palatine Wittelsbachs following the destruction of Palatine electoral grave sites in the Holy Ghost Church during the Palatine War of Succession (1688–1697).[106] However, internal Wittelsbach disputes manifested themselves on the ground even before this disturbance of graves. Indeed, the confessionalization of the Bavarian and Palatine territories led to confessional border wars between members of the dynasty in the Upper Palatinate and Bavaria.

The Upper Palatinate remained a mixed confessional state because of a divided house and land. One of the most important challenges Frederick III faced in implementing Calvinism in the Upper Palatinate was the geographical isolation of the Upper Palatinate from the Lower Palatinate, since they did not share contiguous borders.[107] Official implementation of the Lutheran Reformation in the Upper Palatinate began in 1556 with Ottheinrich via church ordinances and visitations, and it received considerable popular support. Nevertheless, it never reached some areas in the Upper Palatinate, and traces of Catholic worship survived. For example, a Lutheran pastor complained in 1562 that his parishioners wanted him to continue performing the mass as it had been done traditionally, and that they did not attend the Friday

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[103] Schaab, "Obrigkeitlicher Calvinismus und Genfer Gemeindemodell," 65–66; see also Lewis Spitz and Barbara Tinsley, *Johann Sturm on Education. The Reformation and Humanist Learning* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1995).

[104] Joseph Freedman, "Ramus and the Use of Ramus at Heidelberg within the Context of Schools and Universities in Central Europe, 1572–1622," in *Späthumanismus und reformierte Konfession*, ed. C. Strohm, et al., 93–101.

[105] Bouwsma, *The Waning of the Renaissance, 1550–1640*, 187.

[106] Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 103.

[107] Ackermann, "Testamente als Elemente territorialer Religionspolitik. Die letzwilligen Verfügung der pfälzischen Kurfürsten Friedrich III. (1559–1576) und Ludwig VI. (1576–1583)," 365.

sermons, as well as refused to purchase a Bible for the church because they considered it too expensive.[108]

In the homage ceremony of 1563, the Estates of the Upper Palatinate challenged Frederick III's claims to determine the religion of their territory. They threatened to appeal to the Emperor if he attempted to enforce Calvinism in the Upper Palatinate, because Calvinism was not recognized as a legal religion under the Peace of Augsburg. Hence, Frederick III encountered strong resistance from the Estates in the Upper Palatinate, and he only succeeded in expelling Lutheran preachers from Amberg, the capital of the Upper Palatinate, just before Christmas in 1566. Even then he faced popular resistance from citizens and handworkers. For a while, Frederick III felt compelled to remain in his palace with guards. Nevertheless, Frederick III celebrated Christmas after the Calvinist manner in Amberg. He did not force the populace to attend Christmas celebrations with him, and no one came. Just before Frederick III left Amberg, he attempted to demonstrate his territorial prerogative by replacing Ottheinrich's church ordinance with his own and replacing Lutherans with Calvinists in the Amberg government and church council. Also, he put the *Pädagogium* of Amberg into Calvinist hands. His intent was to use the *Pädagogium* to establish a Calvinist ruling elite in Amberg. Despite Frederick III's threats against disobedience, he still found the inhabitants of the Upper Palatinate recalcitrant.[109]

In 1575, Daniel Tossanus, Frederick III's court preacher, delivered a rebuke to the city of Amberg for their resistance to Calvinist confessionalization by claiming that Frederick III, as a good "shepherd" and "father" of the land, was not attempting to establish a "new" religion, but enact the "reforms" necessary for piety to prevail in the Upper Palatinate:

> Then there is nothing more troublesome cropped up before God and horrible for a people than the unthankfulness when God raises up righteous authority as true shepherds and fathers of the fatherland who have no other greater care than that their subjects are cared for with good

[108] Peter Schmid, "Die Reformation in der Oberpfalz," in *Der Pfälzer Löwe in Bayern. Zur Geschichte der Oberpfalz in der kurpfälzischen Epoche*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Becker (Regensburg: Universitätsverlag Regensburg, 2003), 112–113.

[109] Ibid., 114–117.

> pasture and are righteously instructed… Therefore, the intention of the gracious Elector is not at all to establish a new religion and leave the poor people without comfort and teaching…[110]

Nevertheless, Lutheran popular resistance in the Upper Palatinate was also supported by Frederick III's own son, Ludwig VI, who served as the *Stadthalter* (viceroy) of the Upper Palatinate from (1564–1576) and resisted his father's efforts to implement the Calvinist reform.[111]

Ludwig VI was a responsible ruler who enjoyed considerable popularity, and his resolve to remain Lutheran was also strengthened by his wife, Elisabeth, the daughter of Landgrave Philipp the Magnanimous of Hesse, a staunch Lutheran.[112] In a letter to her brother, Elisabeth wrote about her conviction that the "pure" teachings of God would withstand her father-in-law's attempt to enforce Calvinization in the Palatinate.[113] Also Ludwig VI's counselors in Amberg favored his resistance to Calvinist confessionalization in the Lutheran Upper Palatinate. While Ludwig VI was in Amberg, his brother Johann Casimir was highly involved in his father's politics and the spreading of Calvinism.[114] Frederick III was extremely offended with Ludwig VI's resistance and wrote several letters to him warning him to obey his directives. In one letter he reminded him of his filial duty to support his father.[115] In a return letter, Ludwig VI emphasized that their real enemies were the pope and the Jesuits, who were trying to enforce the decrees from the Council of Trent in the Empire. He also appealed to Frederick III's eschatological concerns by referring to these papal forces as the locusts and scorpions depicted in the Book of Revelation that would afflict the land with the opening of the seventh seal before the Second Coming.[116]

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[110] Daniel Tossanus, *Christliche Erinnerung an einen ersamen Rath und Gemeinde der Churfürstlichen Pfalz Statt Amberg… handlung zu fortpflantzung und erhaltung Gottseliger einigkeit in kirchen und schulen* (Heidelberg, 1575), 4, 13. Rare book. Reformation in Heidelberg, HEW-51. Leiden: IDC Publishers, 1998. Text-fiche.

[111] P. Schmid, 118.

[112] Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, 267–268.

[113] Elizabeth to Wilhelm (Amberg, May 22, 1563), in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhohn, vol. 1, 400.

[114] Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, 267–268.

[115] Friedrich III to Ludwig VI (Heidelberg, February 15, 1575), in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhohn, vol. 2, 794–795.

[116] Ludwig VI to Friedrich III (Amberg, March 5, 1575), in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhohn, vol. 2, 811–812.

The family division over the confessionalization of the Upper Palatinate went beyond father and son. For example, Dorothea, the widow of the Palatine Elector Frederick II, defended her widow's estate of Neumarkt in the Upper Palatinate from Calvinism until her death in 1580.[117] Indeed, Dorothea took care to write several letters to Frederick III's daughter, Dorothea Susanna, wife of the Lutheran Duke Johann Wilhelm of Saxe-Weimar, a duke who actually alienated the Emperor by assisting the French king Charles IX in his campaign against the Huguenots. In her letters, Dorothea vented her anger over Frederick III's Calvinizing efforts in Amberg. She was particularly outraged by the iconoclastic efforts, which included breaking into the churches in order to confiscate and destroy images and then white-washing the churches.[118] She also let the Lutheran Duke Christof of Württemburg know of the events in the region: "I cannot write enough what kind of misery is raised here and how one compels and forces the people to go against God and their consciences."[119] Christof's daughter Emilia had married Count Palatine Reichard of Simmern, who was the administrator for the abbey of Waldsassen located in the Upper Palatinate.[120] In fact, Reichard was not only the son-in-law of Duke Christof of Württemburg, he was also Frederick III's younger brother. Like Dorothea, he expressed his displeasure to Christof in a letter about events in Amberg, while also assuring his father-in-law that he would not follow his brother's footsteps.[121] Ultimately, Calvinist confessionalization failed in the Upper Palatinate not only because of popular resistance and geographical distance, but also because of divisions within the Palatine ruling house itself.

The Wittelsbach rulers recognized the power of education and persuasion in the Upper Palatinate, and confessionalized humanism in the form of school politics played just as important of a role there as it did in the Lower Palatinate. In 1552 the Palatine Elector Frederick II

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[117] P. Schmid, 118.

[118] Dorothea to Dorothea Suzanna (Neumarkt, December 20, 1566), in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhohn, vol. 1, 739–740; Dorothea to Dorothea Suzanna ([Neumarkt?], March 18, 1567), in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhohn, vol. 2, 12–13.

[119] Dorothea to Christof (Neumarkt, June 17, 1567), in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhohn, vol. 2, 62–63.

[120] P. Schmid, 118.

[121] Reichard to Christof (Amberg, Nov. 8, 1566), in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhohn, vol. 1, 711–713.

(before converting to Lutheranism) obtained papal permission to use the income from convents at Ensdorf and Gnadenberg to finance the *Pädagogium* in Amberg and house it in the Amberg Franciscan convent. Later, in 1566, Frederick III revived the Amberg *Pädagogium* as a Calvinist institution in order to compete with the Lutheran Latin school of St. Martin in Amberg. It succeeded in attracting sons of Calvinist officials, but not Lutheran citizens of Amberg.[122] When Ludwig VI became Elector in 1576, he enjoyed popular support in the Upper Palatinate. He immediately ousted all of the Calvinists from pastoral positions in the Upper Palatinate and replaced them with Lutherans, especially from Saxony or neighboring Lutheran territories. The same year Ludwig VI shut down the Calvinist *Pädagogium* in Amberg and reopened it a year later as a Lutheran institution.[123] In his last testament, Ludwig VI expressed his concern about protecting the Lutherans at the University of Heidelberg and the schools within the Lower and Upper Palatinate.[124]

When Johann Casimir became regent for Frederick IV in 1583, the attempts at restoring Calvinism in the Upper Palatinate began again. Like in the Lower Palatinate, he issued ordinances forbidding the mocking of Calvinism and replacing Lutheran officials with Calvinists. He shut down the *Pädagogium* in Amberg and expelled Lutheran teachers and students. Casimir encountered considerable popular resistance to these measures. For example, the Estates appealed to the Emperor, and in Neumarkt the citizens appealed to the Imperial Chamber Court (*Reichskammergericht*). After the death of Casimir in 1592, the Lutherans in the Upper Palatinate took advantage of the regency dispute and attempted to revolt, resulting in bloodshed. For example, they lynched the parish administrator Sebastian Breitschedel in Nabburg, and in Neumarkt the citizens positioned a cannon against the palace there. In Amberg, approximately 1400 armed citizens attempted to protect Lutheran pastors from being replaced by

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[122] Matthias Schöberl, "Vom pfälzischen *Teilstaat* zum bayerischen *Staatenteil*. Landesherrliche Durchdringungs-und kurbayerischer Herrschaft in der Oberen Pfalz von 1595 bis 1648" (Ph.D., diss., University of Regensburg, 2006), 128; Schaab, "Obrigkeitlicher Calvinismus und Genfer Gemeindemodell," 66–69.

[123] P. Schmid, 120–121; Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, 269.

[124] Ludwig VI, *Testament Kurfürst Ludwig VI* (Heidelberg, 5 Dec. 1580), appended to Ackermann, "Testamente als Elemente territorialer Religionspolitik. Die letzwilligen Verfügung der pfälzischen Kurfürsten Friedrich III. (1559–1576) und Ludwig VI. (1576–1583)," 388.

Calvinists.[125] Nevertheless, a renewed attempt at Calvinist confessionalization began in 1595 under the leadership of the viceroy Christian von Anhalt (1595–1621).[126]

The historian Heinz Schilling refers to the period from the 1580s to the 1620s as the "apogee" of confessionalization and specifically referred to events in the Upper Palatinate from 1595–98 as an example of this.[127] From 1596–1598, Frederick IV remained in the Upper Palatinate with his court advisors in an attempt to enforce Calvinism. Anhalt as viceroy used enticements and threats to encourage conversion to Calvinism in the Upper Palatinate. For example, he reopened the *Pädagogium* as a Calvinist institution and positioned Calvinists in all the leading government positions. The city of Amberg countered these efforts by establishing their own school ordinances. However, Anhalt responded with church and school visitations.[128]

The visitation report of 1598 for the Upper Palatinate recorded a mixture of religious practices in Amberg, including indifference and parents not sending their children to Calvinist schools. In response, Anhalt had Frederick IV issue an ordinance requiring children to be instructed in the Heidelberg Catechism. In 1600, Anhalt threatened parents with financial penalties and prison for not having their children attend. When Frederick V came to power, Anhalt persuaded him to promote the *Pädagogium* by offering university scholarships to attract students in 1616. He also renewed school and church visitations. Besides threats and fines, Anhalt also used the press as a form of propaganda, and his efforts played a critical role in turning Amberg into a major publishing center.[129] However, popular resistance to Calvinist confessionalization continued in the Upper Palatinate.

The Upper Palatinate bordered Bavaria, and Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria had been concerned about the Upper Palatinate when Frederick III first began to Calvinize the region.[130] In his testament, Frederick III defended his claims and rights to confessionalize the Upper Palatinate against Albrecht V's challenges. He also stated how

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[125] P. Schmid, 122–123.
[126] Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, 401.
[127] Heinz Schilling, *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society: Essays in German and Dutch History* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 227.
[128] P. Schmid, 124–126.
[129] Schöberl, 104–128.
[130] Heil, 409.

he had managed to prevent his subjects of the Upper Palatinate from suffering under the papacy and idolatry.[131] However, Albrecht V believed his efforts in defending Catholicism was a protection of his lands and people against Protestant "heresy."

The Jesuit Matthäus Rader's work *Bavaria Sancta* (1615) had a copper engraving of the image found in Munich depicting the Virgin Mary in the clouds holding the Christ child on her lap with the child blessing a map of Bavaria. The page was titled "The Devotion of Princes, the Protection of Lands."[132] Albrecht V's grandson, Maximilian, emphasized Mary as Bavaria's patroness (*Patrona Bavariae*) in order to help unify its people and create a more stable socio-political structure. It also reflected his belief that God would hold him responsible for the spiritual as well as the temporal welfare of his subjects, and that if he failed in this duty, his land could be visited with God's wrath.[133] This conception of rulership, shared by their Palatine relatives, was rooted in Carolingian mirror of prince literature.[134] In fact, Maximilian's officials compared their efforts to re-Catholicize northern Germany during the Thirty Years' war with Charlemagne's efforts to Christianize the pagan Saxons from the same region.[135]

Pilgrimages, rosaries, relics, and crosses were among a number of options Catholics considered available to offer protection; hence, the use of Mary as a patron saint for Bavaria fit well into this conception of divine protection that could cover not just individuals, but regions as well.[136] In his foreword to *Bavarica Sancta*, Rader praised Maximilian for promoting Marian devotion so that the saints could protect him and his people "for virtue and religion were always more powerful than violence or weapons…for what is the devotion of a prince other than the protection of the land?"[137]

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[131] Friedrich III, *Das Testament Friedrichs des Frommen, Churfürsten von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhon, 90.

[132] P. Steiner, 255–56.

[133] Albrecht, *Maximilian I von Bayern*, 297, 310.

[134] Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit*, 45, 132–189, 355; Robert Meens, "Politics, Mirrors of Princes and the Bible; Sins, Kings, and the Well-Being of the Realm," *Early Medieval Europe* 7 (1998): 351.

[135] Albrecht, "Bayern und die Gegenreformation," in *Um Glauben und Reich. Kurfürst Maximilian I*, 14.

[136] P. Steiner, 256; Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500–1648* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 188–194.

[137] Matthäus Rader, *Bavaria Sancta*, quoted in P. Steiner, 252.

Although Marian devotion was a vehicle for popular piety, the Jesuits' focus on social elites reflected itself in their sponsorship of Marian Congregations that drew membership primarily from academics, Gymnasium students, and urban elites. It was not until Maximilian first called in the Capuchin Order in 1600 that a special emphasis on the common people took root. The Jesuits patterned the Marian Congregations after the 1563 Roman College. In 1564 Jakob Rem established the first Marian Congregation in the Empire at Dillengen, which became influential on later Marian Congregations. The whole Wittelsbach family participated in the Marian Congregation in Munich.[138] In a letter to Albrecht V, Canisius emphasized the role of the Virgin Mary as the patron saint who sustained the virtues of the Wittelsbachs, and he lauded Wittelsbach pilgrimages, such as the one to Tuntenthausen, because they were following the example of their illustrious ancestors such as Emperor Ludwig the Bavarian.[139]

Bavarians had already been actively engaged in pilgrimages since the late Middle Ages, and pilgrimages had been especially encouraged by Maximilian and his predecessor, Wilhelm V. Maximilian actually began his reign with a pilgrimage to Altötting and ended it with a pilgrimage to Bettbrunn. Maximilian endowed masses for the pilgrimage churches in Altötting, Maria Loreto and Einsiedeln.[140] He also altered the nature of pilgrimages in two ways. First, he made pilgrimage a more visually dramatic occasion by organizing new brotherhoods and encouraging the use of crosses, banners, candles, and clergy adorned in liturgical dress. Second, he emphasized Marian devotion as the primary purpose of a pilgrimage by establishing new pilgrimage sites devoted to the Virgin, subsuming the sites of former saints into that of the Marian cult, and fostering the Jesuit sponsored Marian Congregations.[141]

Pilgrimage sites and churches literally changed the landscape of Bavaria into one of sacred space.[142] The Jesuit Wilhelm Gumppenberg published a two volume Marian Atlas in 1657 that attributed the

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[138] Hausberger, 118–119.

[139] Peter Canisius to Albrecht V (Ingolstadt, Jan 1, 1577), in *Beati Petri Canisii societatis Iesu. Epistulae et Acta*, ed. O. Braunsberger, 380–387.

[140] P. Steiner, 259, 253.

[141] Ibid., 260; Albrecht, *Maximilian I von Bayern*, 293–294.

[142] P. Steiner, 261; Marc Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany 1550–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 61–104.

extraordinary number of Marian sites in Bavaria to the efforts of Maximilian.[143] Maximilian engaged in a pilgrimage annually, and it served as a physical representation of his spiritual ascent towards grace.[144] The Jesuit poet Jacob Balde's ode to the Virgin of Loreto reveals how the Jesuits served as articulators to transform Maximilian's personal piety to that of a Bavarian piety, and attach it to the international goals of the Catholic Reformation.[145] In this ode, physical exertion (ascending the Alps) reflects the spiritual ascent towards grace as represented by the pilgrimage site itself:

> We, by way of the steep place of Tyrol
> which raised its snowy head,
> we overcame the journey.[146]

The site, Loreto, is located outside of Bavaria but connected to it by a shared cultural heritage between Italy and Bavaria, and it served as an international Marian pilgrimage site in the early modern era.[147]

Protestants had mocked pilgrimage as a form of idolatry, and a prominent proponent of this view was the Wittelsbach Lutheran Palatine Elector Ottheinrich, who originally had his court in Neuburg along the confessional border with his Bavarian relatives. Ottheinrich commissioned his court artist throughout 1540–1550 to publish broadsheets denouncing traditional devotional practices in Bavaria as forms of idolatry that would bring pestilences and other disasters on the land. These views caused a significant decline in pilgrimages in Bavaria, and there would not be a significant revival of pilgrimage there until the 1560s, when Albrecht V began to ardently support the Counter Reformation in Bavaria.[148] Like the Austrian Baroque, an important element of the Bavarian Baroque consisted in revitalizing

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[143] Woeckel, 47.

[144] P. Steiner, 259.

[145] Jacob Balde, "Legatio Tertia ad D. Virg. Lavretanam in Agro Piceno," *Silvae* 2, *Parthenia*, 4, in *Jacob Balde S.J. Opera Poetica Omnia*, ed.Wilhelm Kühlmann. Texte der frühen Neuzeit Munich: 1729; reprint (Frankfurt am Main: Keip Verlag, 1990).

[146] Ibid.

[147] Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism 1450–1700: A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1999), 110–111.

[148] Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria*, 67–72; Ludwig Hüttl, *Marianische Wallfahrten im Süddeutsch-Österreichischen Raum. Analysen von der Reformations-bis zur Aufklärungsepoche* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1985), 95–118.

forms of worship that had been prominent in the late Middle Ages.[149] Indeed, rituals such as pilgrimage offered the symbolic opportunity to shape and reshape worldviews.[150]

Assisting the Bavarian Wittelsbachs in their efforts was their patronage of pilgrimage books. Pilgrimage books were a type of miracle book that served as a form of popular literature. Miracle claims at pilgrimage sites increased following the Protestant Reformation and reflected a response to its criticisms. One of the first pilgrimage books was Martin Eisengrein's *Our Lady at Altötting* in 1571. This work experienced ten reprints before 1625 and it was important for the revival of the shrine. In the work, Eisengrein made historical parallels between the barbarian invasions of the 500s with the iconoclastic activities of Calvinists. He also challenged Protestant claims that the pilgrimages were inventions of the late medieval era by associating them with the early medieval Christianization of Bavaria. In fact, he maintained that there were links between the Carolingian Emperors' devotion at Altötting, who defended the Empire against Arians, and the Wittelsbach Dukes defending the shrine against new heresies like Lutheranism and Calvinism. A major portion of the work retells Canisius' exorcism at the chapel in Altötting to help counteract Protestant claims of "devilish" magic as the source of pilgrimage miracles.[151]

This pilgrimage book became a source of Catholic-Protestant polemic lasting for years. Eisengrein was a theologian at the University of Ingolstadt, and he had been a convert from Lutheranism in Stuttgart. He gained a reputation at the University of Vienna for his vigorous efforts to eradicate Protestant influence there in the 1560s. The rector of the University of Ingolstadt, Friedrich Staphylus, encouraged Duke Albrecht to bring him to Ingolstadt as a priest and preacher at the university parish, St. Moritz. Later he became a faculty member and encouraged Albrecht V to eradicate Protestantism from Bavaria. The University of Ingolstadt and the Munich court began publishing other pilgrimage books with polemical justifications similar to Eisengrein's. The use of mythic history to demonstrate continuity with the past

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[149] Hubensteiner, *Vom Geist des Barock*, 21.

[150] Robert Scribner, "Ritual and Reformation," in *The German People and the Reformation*, ed. R. Po-Chia Hsia (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 142.

[151] Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria*, 1–10, 19–27, 116–119.

helped unify Bavaria under Wittelsbach leadership, especially in the countryside. The villages in the countryside were particularly responsive to the pilgrimage efforts because of the close links between the agricultural and liturgical cycles.[152]

The connection between pilgrimage and the confessional border war between the Palatine and Bavarian Wittelsbachs is not only evident in Ottheinrich's publications at Neustadt and Eisengren's pilgrimage book for Altötting, but also in the Bavarian Wittelsbachs' efforts to promote the pilgrimage site of Bettbrunn. On the border between Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate was the pilgrimage site of Bettbrunn, which frustrated Palatine officials whose visitation records noted that Catholics secretly continued to go there in the late sixteenth century. In 1584 Johannes Engerd, a professor of poetics at the University of Ingolstadt, printed at the Eder Press in Ingolstadt the pilgrimage book *Holy Savior at Bettbrunn*. This book was a mixture of history and creative legend patterned after Eisengrein's. In a later edition in 1587, the editor added four miracle stories which claimed that certain Lutherans experienced miracles that led them to convert to Catholicism.[153]

The Palatine Wittelsbachs also promoted a type of sacred landscape, not through Marian pilgrimages, but by creating safe havens for refugee Calvinist communities who believed that their lives were like pilgrimages.[154] Although the Palatine Wittelsbachs continued a late medieval tradition of using convents and their surroundings as bases for Wittelsbach hunting activities, as well as for summer houses, the Palatine church administration order of 1574 dedicated all of the surplus coming from the church properties to the general well-being of the land. It was also not uncommon to use the surplus to attract Calvinist refugees from other lands.[155] The combination of religious concern as defenders of the faith and economic motivation served as the catalyst for the settlements. For example, many of the Calvinist

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[152] Ibid.

[153] Ibid., 192–202.

[154] For this concept, see Heiko Oberman, "*Europa afflicta*: The Reformation of the Refugees," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 83 (1992): 91–112; Andrew Pettegree, "The Exile Churches and the Churches under the Cross: Antwerp and Emden during the Dutch Revolt," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 38 (1987): 187–209.

[155] Schaab, "Obrigkeitlicher Calvinismus und Genfer Gemeindemodell," 56–57; for the often complex relationship between secular rulers and church property, see Christopher Ocker, *Church Robbers and Reformers in Germany, 1525–1547: Confiscation and Religious Purpose in the Holy Roman Empire* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2006).

exiles came from Flanders, and the electors expected them to use their skills in textiles to improve the economy.[156]

Frederick III personally greeted the Dutch refugees who settled in Frankenthal.[157] Petrus Dathenus, the leader of the Netherlander exiles in Frankfurt, contacted Frederick III in 1567, and Frederick responded by offering the refugees the building of the Augustinian convent in Grossfrankenthal. The contract between representatives of Frederick III and the refugees, known as the Frankenthaler Capitulation, became the model for all other settlements and embodied homage to Frederick III in exchange for considerable local autonomy. It attracted more exiles from Frankfurt, and Frederick III handed over another secularized monastery, the former Cistercian Abbey Schönau near Heidelberg.[158] These refugees represented the first time that a large number of new immigrants entered the Palatinate. The Palatinate was especially attractive for Calvinist refugees in the Empire because of the Calvinist religious settlement within the territory.[159]

Not just Dutch Calvinists, but Calvinist Walloons and Huguenots also found haven in the Palatinate. Around 1569, Frederick III allowed the settlement of Walloons in Heidelberg. For worship service, they were allowed access to the lecture hall of the theological faculty; in fact, a portion of their congregation already taught at the University of Heidelberg. An example of the ties between the French congregation in Heidelberg and the university was the experience of Hieronymous Zanchius. Zanchius was a professor of dogmatics and had four of his children baptized in this congregation. Also, the theological professor Franciscus Junius from Bourges had his daughter baptized in this congregation as well. When Ludwig VI came to power in 1577, he barred

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[156] Elisabeth Bütfering, "Niederländische Exulanten in Frankenthal, Neu-Hanau and Altona: Herkunftsgebiete, Migrationswege und Ansiedlungsorte," in *Niederlande und Nordwestdeutschland. Studien zur Regional-und Stadtgeschichte Nordwestkonti nentaleuropas im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*, eds. Wilfried Ehbrecht and Heinz Schilling (Cologne, 1983), 356–357, 380–381.

[157] Cohn, "The Territorial Princes in Germany's Second Reformation, 1559–1622," 150.

[158] Gerhard Kaller, "Wallonische und Niederlandische Exulantensiedlungen in der Pfalz im 16. Jahrhundert. Enstehung und Stadterhebung," in *Oberrheinische Studien* 3 (1975): 329–330.

[159] Gerhard Kaller, "Die Anfänge der kurpfälzischen Exulantengemeinden Frankenthal, Schönau, Heidelberg und Otterberg," (1562–1590) *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 147 (1999): 393, 396.

the Walloon congregation from the lecture hall, and he forced all the pastors and teachers who would not accept the new Lutheran church ordinance to leave the land. Over 500 families left, including many students of the *Pädagogium*.[160]

Thus, despite Frederick III's attempt to protect the refugee communities in his testament, Ludwig VI ignored it. He actually had given the inhabitants of Schönau only three weeks to convert to Lutheranism or be expelled. Ludwig VI's confessionalizing efforts split the community, and about half of the families converted to Lutheranism, while the others fled to Johann Casimir's territory. Indeed, in the same year of Ludwig VI's activity (1577), Casimir offered refuge in Lambrecht for French-speaking refugees, and many of the Walloons from Schönau settled in Casimir's controlled Otterberg in 1578/79. Frederick IV continued the practice of Casimir and Frederick III in receiving Calvinist refugees. For example, in 1607 the village of Mannheim became a city thanks to the influx of refugees. Frederick IV offered great privileges, free construction material, and low taxes for the new settlers. He had these enticements published in German, Dutch, French, and Latin. Also, in 1608, Frederick IV established a new refugee settlement at Lixheim near Alsace, and in Mannheim the former Benedictine priory became the pastoral church for a French-speaking community. Mannheim did not grow as much as hoped, but Frankenthal bloomed.[161]

Both the Palatine and Bavarian Wittelsbachs attempted to impose confesssionalization in their territories through the use of court advisors who were active in the creation and implementation of church visitations, catechisms, and educational reforms. The Wittelsbachs fought confessional border wars with publications defending and disparaging pilgrimages. The patronage of clerical international scholars at their universities and the settlement of religious refugees reflected how easily the Wittelsbachs' identity as defenders of the faith could transcend their territories. For the Palatine Wittelsbachs, the reception of exiles in the land also corresponded with military exercises that involved religious-political affairs of international import. Besides using proceeds from secularized monasteries for refugee settlements, the Palatine Wittelsbachs also used the proceeds for strengthening the

[160] Ibid., 396–400.

[161] Kaller, "Wallonische und Niederlandische Exulantensiedlungen in der Pfalz im 16. Jahrhundert," 331–350.

military defense of the land, including the building of a fortress in Mannheim.[162] The next chapter discusses how their roles of defenders of the faith led both the Palatine and Bavarian Wittelsbachs to make confessional dynastic marriage and military alliances that led to cold war encounters.

[162] Schaab, "Obrigkeitlicher Calvinismus und Genfer Gemeindemodell," 56–57.

CHAPTER FOUR

WEDDING BELLS AND CANNON FIRE: WITTELSBACH CONFESSIONAL DIPLOMACY

The Venetian ambassador to the Empire in 1552, Domenico Morosini, identified Palatine prestige with the University of Heidelberg. He also noted that Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria was second only to the Electors in importance within the Empire and mentioned the University of Ingolstadt within this context as well.[1] The average matriculation of foreign students from 1584–1620 at the University of Heidelberg was 34% in contrast to the University of Tübingen which was only 2%.[2] The confessionalization of the courts, universities, and territories had a profound influence on Wittelsbach foreign affairs. In the Palatinate, Calvinist exiles from abroad often held important positions at the court and the university that helped shape Palatine foreign policy. Likewise, in Bavaria, Jesuits from various regional backgrounds played an important role in Wittelsbach diplomacy in Munich through their positions as court advisors and educational leaders. Indeed, many dynasties in the confessional age conducted diplomacy primarily along confessional lines, since the interests of the rulers frequently coincided with religious affiliation.[3] The historian John Adamson once stated that the courts served as "marriage markets" for a "politics of intimacy."[4]

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[1] Domenico Morosini, *Estratti della Relazione di Domenico Morosini ambasciatore ordinario presso Carlo V* 1552 in *Relazioni di ambasciatori veneti al senato*. Vol. 2. *Germania (1506–1554)*, ed. Luigi Firpo (Torino: Bottega D'Erasmo, 1968); reprint of *Le Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato durante il secolo decimosesto*, ed. Euegenio Albèri (Florence: Societa Editrice Fiorentina, 1853), 72–73.

[2] Zwierlein, 38.

[3] Adamson, 24.

[4] Ibid., 8, 13; Weber, "Dynastiesicherung und Staatsbildung," 114; Paula Sutter Fichtner, "Dynastic Marriage in Sixteenth-Century Habsburg Diplomacy and Statecraft: An Interdisciplinary Approach," *The American Historical Review* 81 (1976): 243–265; John Watkins, "Towards a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38 (2008): 7; idem, "Marriage à la Mode 1559: Elizabeth I, Elisabeth de Valois, and the Changing Patterns of Diplomatic Marriage," in *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England*, eds., Carole Levin and R. Bucholz (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 76–97; Susan Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge, 1996).

In this sense, they resonate with Bourdieu's conception of marriage as a form of "cultural capital."[5] As David Sabean states, "Marriage is only one aspect of a system of kinship and only a part of a larger set of reciprocities. Nevertheless, it establishes more or less fixed lines that divide people from and connect people to one another."[6] Women in particular played a prominent role in sustaining dynastic bonds in their roles as sisters, wives, and mothers.[7] Marriages along confessional lines played a critical role in sustaining Wittelsbach dynastic myths and military alliances in the confessional age. They also weakened the bonds between the two main branches of the dynasty even further, while simultaneously serving to strengthen Bavarian influence over the Palatine cadet branch at Neuburg. Concomitantly, Wittelsbach consorts were very important as wives and mothers in shaping the dynastic destiny of the Wittelsbachs both at home and in the international arena. Finally, the marriage celebrations themselves at court served as valuable opportunities for confessionalized humanism to display the legitimacy of the governing house.

One of the greatest expressions of their claims to be defenders of the faith was in the realm of political action, as it had been for their medieval and Old Testament models. In order to elucidate their claims as defenders of the faith, this chapter focuses first on how Frederick III's confessional diplomacy widened Wittelsbach commitments outside of the Empire. Then it discusses how confessional marriage diplomacy by both halves of the dynasty led to new dynastic bonds that reinforced their status as defenders of the faith while widening the gulf between the Palatine and Bavarian branches. Furthermore, these marriage alliances created new dynastic myths that blossomed in the early Baroque as the 'Palatine Myth' and the *pietas bavarica* in which both halves of the dynasty claimed that God had chosen their respective branches to defend the 'true' church against heresy. This will be shown by contrasting Frederick III's and Casimir's involvement in the French Wars of Religion with the marriage alliances cemented between the

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[5] Bourdieu, "Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital," 187.

[6] David Warren Sabean, *Kinship in Neckarhausen 1700–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 16.

[7] Michaela Hohkamp, "Sisters, Aunts, and Cousins: Familial Architectures and the Political Field in Early Modern Europe," in *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development (1300–1900)*, eds. Sabean et al., 91–104, esp. 97; see also Abby Zanger, *Scenes from the Marriage of Louis XIV: Nuptial Fictions and the Making of Absolutist Power* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

Bavarian Wittelsbachs and the House of Lorraine. Afterwards, Palatine support for the Dutch Revolt and marriage alliance with the House of Orange will be contrasted with Bavarian marriage alliances with the House of Habsburg. The chapter then elaborates how these new dynastic alliances contributed to the development of indirect confrontations between both halves of the dynasty during the military conflicts that predated the Thirty Years' War and led to the formation of the Protestant Union and Catholic League. Finally, the chapter explores how these cold war conflicts also contributed to the confessional marriage alliance between the Electoral Palatine branch with the House of Stuart, and the Bavarian Wittelsbachs' ability to bring under their influence the Palatine cadet branch of Neuburg through a confessional marriage contract.

Initially, Frederick III was very cautious about his foreign policy and feared that intervention on behalf of the Huguenots could lead to wider conflagrations. In 1562, he warned Count Palatine Wolfgang of Zweibrücken of this concern. Likewise in 1562, Frederick III refused the invitation by Queen Elizabeth and the Landgrave of Hesse for a Protestant military alliance for the same reasons. Until 1565, Frederick III believed that the Peace of Augsburg protected German Protestants, including Calvinists. However, several critical events made him think otherwise. First, the monarchs of Spain and France met in Bayonne in June 1565, and reports spread that Philip II of Spain and Queen Catherine of France were officially going to assist each other in enforcing the decrees of the Council of Trent. Second, the Duke of Alba's heavy-handed work against the Dutch Calvinists a year and half later, as well as Huguenots' complaints of persecution by Catherine, revived fears of the secret treaty at Bayonne, and Frederick III became convinced of a Catholic conspiracy to wipe out Protestantism all over Europe. Third, at the Imperial Diet of 1566 the duke of Württemberg and Frederick's relation the duke of Zweibrücken attempted to have it declared that Calvinism was illegal in the Empire. This exacerbated his concerns, because he already did not trust German Catholics' fidelity to the Empire, especially since the papacy had never formally accepted the Peace of Augsburg.[8]

Christoph Ehem, from a patrician family of Augsburg and a well-known professor of law at Heidelberg, directed Palatine foreign policy

[8] Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660*, 8–9.

under Frederick III as his chancellor. In Vienna he was known as "the enemy of the House of Austria." Within weeks after the Bartholomew's Day Massacre, Ehem proposed a German Protestant alliance with France to alienate Spain. In the 1560s and 1570s, theologians and ministers were also important influences in Palatine foreign policy. For example, Wenzel Zuleger was influential as head of the *Kirchenrat* (Church Council) when Ehem became the leader of the *Oberrat* (High Council). Zuleger had studied theology in Geneva and Bourges and was also a close friend of John Calvin and Theodore Beza. Also, a number of Palatine ministers served as court advisors and diplomats. These included the Frenchmen Daniel Toussaint, Pierre Boquin, Francois du Jon, the Dutchman Petrus Dathenus, and the Italians Hieronymus Zanchius and Immanuel Tremellius. All of these men were also close correspondents with Calvin and Beza, and almost all were adult converts to Calvinism who had experienced persecution and exile. Indeed, none of them were from the Palatinate. They represented the cause of international Calvinism against Habsburg Catholic 'tyranny.'[9]

The Palatinate was important geographically for the Valois-Habsburg confrontations because of its location along the strategic route from Mainz to Metz that served as an invasion route between the Empire and France.[10] The shared antipathy for Habsburg power prompted the French king Charles VIII to laud the amity between France and the Palatinate in 1498. Besides Habsburg antipathy, common cultural influences through court service and education connected the Palatinate with France for centuries.[11] Indeed, Frederick III's conversion to Calvinism complicated Palatine relations with the French royal family. An important reason for Frederick III's more cautious foreign policy at the beginning of his rule was not just his concern about alienating German princes in the Empire, but also his fear of alienating the anti-Habsburg French royal crown.[12] Later, much of the diplomatic efforts of the Palatine Electors concentrated on persuading other Protestant princes in the Empire to support the Huguenots. Catherine de Medici complained that all the enemies of the crown found refuge and support in Heidelberg.[13]

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[9] Ibid., 13–16; Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, 241–242.

[10] Bernard Vogler, "Le role des Electeurs Palatins dans le guerres de religion en France (1559–1592)," *Cahiers d'histoire* 10 (1965): 52.

[11] Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660*, 33.

[12] Vogler, 56.

[13] Ibid., 52–53.

The Palatine actions reflected their commitment as defenders of the faith in the manner of Old Testament kings, consistent with mirror of prince literature dating back to the Carolingians. Although Johann Casimir was interested in territorial ambition,[14] Casimir was still a convinced Calvinist. Calvinist officials and theologians often referred to Casimir as "Maccabeus Junior" or "Joshua" and the King of France as "Pharaoh." In fact, Frederick III and his officials often challenged French diplomatic maneuvers by quoting passages from the Old Testament and calling upon the Holy Spirit. Also, as Palatine ambassadors, Wenzel Zuleger, Francois du Jon, Johann Weyer, and Peter Beutterich considered themselves as Old Testament prophets sent out to rebuke the idolatrous worshippers of Baal. Their behavior angered not only Catherine de Medici, but also the Protestant Queen of England, Elizabeth I.[15] Nevertheless, this association between Palatine Calvinists with ancient Israel was consistent with that of Huguenots' self-perception in France.[16] Also, it echoed that of the early medieval Franks who adopted the same identity when attempting to define their new role within a changed geo-political and religious landscape in the early Middle Ages that gave rise to the influential Carolingian mirror of prince tradition itself.[17]

In 1567, Frederick III became bolder in his efforts to support the Huguenots. He had the encouragement of his Calvinist advisors and was confident that his son Johann Casimir was now old enough to enter the battlefield.[18] During that year, the Heidelberg court preacher Johann Willing offered a sermon to Casimir that encouraged him to act as a defender of the faith like Old Testament kings and Charlemagne. The sermon began with a quote from Psalms 20: "Some trust in chariots and some in horses: but we will remember the name of the Lord our God. They are brought down and fallen: but we are raised, and stand upright." He also stated that "God-fearing princes" were "called

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[14] Ibid., 54, 84.

[15] Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660*, 42–43.

[16] Charles H. Parker, "French Calvinists as the Children of Israel: An Old Testament Self-Consciousness in Jean Crespin's *Histoire des Martyrs* before the Wars of Religion," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 24 (1993): 227–248; for a broad overview of the Israelite identity theme for early modern Protestants, see also Philip Gorsky, "The Mosaic Moment: An Early Modernist Critique of Modernist Theories of Nationalism," *American Journal of Sociology* 105 (2000): 1428–1468.

[17] Mary Garrison, "The Franks as the New Israel? Education for an Identity from Pippin to Charlemagne," in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 114–161.

[18] Vogler, 59.

angels of God." Willing then admonished him to follow the example of Joshua and other rulers who fought for God. He also recounted the example of Emperor Theodosius and Charlemagne, and speaking of Charlemagne he stated: "O in truth it had been a praiseworthy and heartfelt spectacle to behold such a mighty potentate in his armor…"[19]

By the end of 1567, Frederick III had his son Casimir lead troops to support the Huguenots in France. To defend against the claim that they were helping rebels against legitimate authority, Palatine officials emphasized that the Huguenot leader, Louis I de Bourbon, the Prince de Condé, was a high official and a member of the royal dynasty.[20] At first they justified supporting rebels based on the claim that they were not fighting against the legitimate king of France, but the Guise family who dominated the king. When it became obvious that the king and queen were in control, the rationale shifted to the position that the king and Queen were acting as tyrants and, therefore, rebels against God. In the diplomatic correspondence, the Palatine diplomats revealed the influence of French Calvinist resistance theories. For example, the French and Spanish kings were always referred to as "tyrants." Indeed, Francois Hotman dedicated his monarchomach tract *Franco-Gallia* to Frederick III.[21]

In 1568, 1576 and 1587, Palatine armies aided the Huguenots, and the Palatine Electors also granted considerable financial assistance to the Huguenots so that they could hire mercenary armies.[22] Foreign mercenary armies further added to the fuel in the French Wars of Religion.[23] However, Frederick III also became more convinced in the justness of his military interventions following events like the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre. The Small Council of Geneva reported to Frederick III about the atrocities of the massacre in a letter, and both the Geneva council and Beza considered it part of a larger con-

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[19] Johann Willing, *Einfaltige Errineru[n]g wie sich ein christlicher Fürst mit seinem Christlichen Heerzeug wieder die feind der Kirche Christie verhalten solle…* (Heidelberg, 1567), 1–5. Rare book. Reformation in Heidelberg, HEW-82. Leiden: IDC Publishers, 1998. Text-fiche.

[20] Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 67–69.

[21] Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660*, 16–18, 33.

[22] Ibid., 5.

[23] De lamar Jensen, "French Diplomacy and the Wars of Religion," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 2 (1974): 23.

spiracy to exterminate Calvinism in Europe.[24] Furthermore, in 1573 Frederick III called a witness to that event, Daniel Tossanus, to be his court preacher.[25] Also, it was during the French Wars of Religion that the scholar Peter Ramus supported the Huguenot army and encouraged other Huguenots to finance Casimir's Palatine army so that they could enter France. Ramus's support led to Frederick III offering him a position at the University of Heidelberg without even consulting the university arts faculty.[26]

Only two years after the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, the Small Council of Geneva forbade the publishing of Theodore Beza's *Du droit des magistrats* (1574) because it advocated military resistance too openly, and the Council feared that Geneva would be blamed for agitating unrest. However, within a year, Beza managed to get his work published in Heidelberg, and a copy of the Heidelberg edition began circulating in Geneva.[27] Indeed, despite attempts at absolutism in their own territories, most Calvinist rulers did subscribe to Calvinist resistance theories.[28] Also, in 1575, Beza became the critical figure in promoting the establishment of a Protestant mercenary army. Already in 1574 Beza had left Geneva and participated in discussions with Huguenot champions such as Henry I de Bourbon, Prince de Condé at Strasbourg, where he had also been in contact with Frederick III's ambassador. Later, Beza visited Frederick III in Heidelberg to discuss the possibility of hiring a German mercenary army if the French king did not allow religious toleration. By the summer of 1575, Condé made a military alliance with Frederick III in which Condé was to receive 6000 German mercenaries as well as 8000 thousand Swiss and 2000 cavalry. Condé's army attacked French royal forces in the fall of 1575 and put Beza's resistance theories into practice. The military success prompted the Peace of Monsieur (Edict of Beaulieu) in which the French king promised religious toleration for Calvinists all over France, except Paris, and promised to pay the cost of the mercenaries that had

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[24] Scott Manetsch, *Theodore Beza and the Quest for Peace in France, 1572–1598* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000), 34.

[25] Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, 238–258.

[26] Kees Meerhoff, "Bartholemew Keckermann and the Anti-Ramist Tradition at Heidelberg," in *Späthumanismus und reformierte Konfession*, 171.

[27] Manetsch, 66–67.

[28] Cohn, "The Territorial Princes in Germany's Second Reformation, 1559–1622," 157.

"rescued" him from evil counselors. Although hundreds of refugees returned to France from Geneva, the peace did not last long.[29]

On his return from a military expedition in France in 1576, the Heidelberg court greeted Johann Casimir with a Roman triumph. The Heidelberg theologian Wilhelm Roding praised the Palatine Wittelsbachs for their piety and virtues in defending the church in the Palatinate and France against "tyranny." He also claimed that Casimir's victory was indeed worthy of a Roman triumph and compared it to the return of Pompey to Rome after his victory in Asia.[30] In reality, Casimir's army had very little success on the field, but his presence did prevent the Catholics from concentrating all their military efforts against the Huguenots. Frederick III did not receive as much reimbursement for his troop endeavors as he had wished and turned more to financing mercenaries. He also sought to avoid a rift within the Empire by keeping secret his assistance to Casimir's exploits in France in 1567–8 and 1575–6.[31] When Casimir became regent for Frederick IV following Ludwig VI's death, military assistance to the Huguenots continued. The Guise responded with the establishment of the French Catholic League and an alliance with Phillip II of Spain by the Treaty of Joinville (31 Dec. 1584).[32] Casimir sent troops under Fabian I von Dohna to help Henry IV of Navarre in 1587 and again in 1591 with troops paid for with English subsidies and led by Christian von Anhalt. Neither adventure was very successful.[33] Nevertheless, Palatine efforts began the 'Palatine Myth' in the Baroque in which the Palatine Wittelsbachs were perceived as God's chosen defenders of the faith.

The Bavarian Wittelsbachs also had a keen interest in the French Wars of Religion thanks to the marriage between Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria and Renata of Lorraine. Renata was the daughter of Duke Francis I of Lorraine and sister to Charles III who became head of the French Catholic League. Renata and Wilhelm's eldest son, Maximilian, married Elisabeth Renata, Renata's niece and daughter of Charles III. Indeed, the Wittelsbach-Lorraine matches meant that the Bavarian

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[29] Manetsch, 84–91.

[30] Wilhelm Roding, *Oratio ad illvstrissimivm principem ioannem casimirvm… Gallia pace & tranquillitate Regni constituta* (Heidelberg, 1576), 1–6. Rare book. Reformation in Heidelberg, HEW-50. Text-fiche.

[31] Cohn, "The Territorial Princes in Germany's Second Reformation, 1559–1622," 139, 154–155.

[32] Vogler, 75.

[33] Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 88.

Wittelsbachs were now related to the kings of France, Denmark, Scotland, and Spain, since Maximilian's mother-in-law, Claudia of Lorraine, was a daughter of Henry II of France, whose brother married Mary Stuart and whose sister married Philip II.[34]

Like their Palatine cousins, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs considered themselves as defenders of the 'true' faith, and their marriage alliances with the House of Lorraine further strengthened their commitment to the international Catholic Reformation and Counter Reformation. The medieval inheritance of the crusades lasted long in Lorraine, and the rise of Protestantism in France prompted the Dukes of Lorraine to revive their medieval heritage as defenders of the faith in France, just as the religious turmoil in the Empire provoked a similar response by the Bavarian Wittelsbachs. At the court of Renata's brother, Charles III, in Nancy, court humanists and clerics created a genealogical myth claiming that the members of the House of Lorraine were descendants of Charlemagne and were given the same duty to defend the faith in France. Also, just as the Bavarian Wittelsbachs emphasized the role of the medieval Emperor Ludwig the Bavarian, so too the Lorraine court promoted their ancestor Godefroy de Bouillon and his crusade against the 'infidels.' Thus, the Charlemagne legacy and myth (as well as the legacy of other medieval ancestral leaders) justified Lorraine ambitions for the French crown and the existence of the French Catholic League, just as it helped Palatine and Bavarian Wittelsbach ambitions in the Empire. Also, the Jesuits served as prominent promoters of the Lorraine dynastic myth as defenders of the faith in France, just like they did for the Bavarian Wittelsbachs and the Austrian Habsburgs. Like the 'Palatine Myth,' the Bavarian Wittelsbachs' and the Austrian Habsburgs' dynastic myths also flourished in the Baroque era. The dynastic cult for the Bavarian Wittelsbachs became known as the *pietas bavarica* and for the Austrian Habsburgs it was the *pietas austriaca*. Both emphasized the idea that God had chosen their respective dynasties to defend the Catholic Church from heresy.[35]

Wilhelm V was 19 years old in 1567 when he went to Nancy to become formally engaged to Renata. The Emperor Maximilian II,

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[34] Albrecht, *Maximilian I. von Bayern 1573–1651*, 69.

[35] René Tavenaux, "L'esprit de croisade en Lorraine aux XVI^{e} et XVII^{e} siècles," in *L'Europe, l'Alsace et la France. Problèmes intèrieurs et relations internationales à l'époque moderne*, eds. Jean Bérenger et al. (Colmar: Les Editions D'Alsace, 1986), 256–260; Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*.

Wilhelm's uncle, served as the negotiator between the two courts. Renata's father had died in 1545, so she had been under the guardianship of her mother, who wanted her to marry into the Habsburg dynasty. Hence, Renata's mother had initially intended for Wilhelm to marry her physically handicapped daughter Dorothea. However, Albrecht V wanted the match to be with Renata even though she was four and half years older than Wilhelm, and her family had given her a hundred less Gulden for a dowry than her sister.[36]

Wilhelm V of Bavaria's marriage with Renata of Lorraine in 1568 in Munich was meant to demonstrate that the Bavarian Wittelsbachs were a dynasty of international importance.[37] It was under Duke Albrecht V that St. George's Hall became the first place in the *Residenz* devoted to court festivities, and it was here that the celebrations of the marriage between Wilhelm V and Renata took place.[38] Albrecht invited not only all of the Bavarian nobility, but also Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg as an ambassador for the pope, Archduke Karl of Styria as ambassador for the Emperor, as well as the ambassadors for Spain, Poland, Electoral Saxony, the Palatinate, and the Duke of Tuscany. There was not enough room for all of the guests at the palace, so inns and citizens' houses also had to be used. The marriage ceremony took place at the Church of Our Lady (*Frauenkirche*) accompanied by celebrations of mass and days of dancing.[39] The festival celebrations for the wedding also contributed to one of the largest music productions in Northern Europe. The music itself was supposed to impress attendants with the princely attributes of the Wittelsbachs.[40]

Today, in the summer hours from 11–5, the *Glockenspiel* (carillon) in the *Neues Rathaus* (New Town Hall) in Munich plays music with mounted knights circling the carillon that represents the tournament held for the marriage between Duke Wilhelm V and Renata of Lorraine. Tournaments at this time were both symbolically and

[36] Albrecht, *Maximilian I. von Bayern 1573–1651*, 87.
[37] Heil, 391.
[38] Babel, "The Duchy of Bavaria. The courts of the Wittelsbachs c. 1500–1750," 201.
[39] Straub, 149–152.
[40] Iain Fenlon, "Music and Festival," in *'Europa Triumphans': Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, eds., J.R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Margaret Shewing, vol. 1, 48.

literally opportunities to demonstrate dynastic legitimacy.[41] The tournament for Wilhelm V and Renata represented a mix of medieval and Renaissance pageantry. For the jousting arena there were two triumphal gates. The first was dedicated to Victoria decked with a crown and surrounded by 18 flags; the two largest depicting the Wittelsbach and Lorraine coats of arms.[42] The culture of honor was a combination of classicism, Neostoicism, and medieval elements. It was not coincidence that the passion for heraldry and genealogy reached its zenith in the seventeenth century: it brought credentials and legitimacy.[43]

Mythological claims were incorporated as well in the wedding festivities which consciously compared the marriage of Wilhelm V and Renata with that of Aeneas and Lavinia who, according to myth, founded Rome after Aeneas escaped from the destruction of Troy.[44] Using this comparison was, in fact, a challenge to the Habsburgs who themselves actually claimed Aeneas as one of their ancestors.[45] However, the Habsburgs were hardly the first to attempt to associate themselves with this myth as a form of legitimacy. After all, the Roman poet Virgil in his *Aeneid* exploited the Trojan War in order to connect the Romans with the glories of ancient mythical history. It certainly sounded more glorious than claiming descent from shepherds from Italy. Likewise, in the early Middle Ages, the Trojan myth served to offer the Franks an alternative to obscure ancestors coming out of the forest. In the early Middle Ages, this process was known as "Ethnogenesis."[46] Also, in the nineteenth century, origin myths served to create national identities.[47] The attempts by the Wittelsbachs and Habsburgs in the confessional era were, in essence, pre-national attempts to shape sovereign identities predicated on the connection between religion and dynasty and embellished with Renaissance interest in classical myth.

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[41] Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Triumphal Shews: Tournaments at German-Speaking Courts in their European Context 1560–1730* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1992).

[42] Straub, 150–152.

[43] Adamson, 16, 24.

[44] Straub, 152–153.

[45] Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

[46] Matthew Innes, "Teutons or Trojans? The Carolingians and the Germanic Past," in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Y. Hen and M. Innes, 114–161.

[47] See Patrick Geary. *The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003) and Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

The wedding received wide publicity thanks to the published literary descriptions of festivals, ambassador reports, and lithographs.[48] The festival book in Germany became a prominent genre in the age of Emperor Charles V. Illustrated versions reflected the influence of Charles V's ancestor, Emperor Maximilian I, whose commissioned works such as the *Triumphal Procession*, with woodcuts by Albrecht Dürer, became models for the festival book. Hans Wagner created a folio of Wilhelm V and Renata's wedding which consisted of 15 large fold-out colored woodcuts.[49] The Italian poet and composer Massimo Troiano composed the most famous festival book for this wedding, published in Venice in 1569.[50] Troiano's festival book is also a classic example of confessionalized humanism in this era. In his first dialogue, he described how low music had sunk before God created Albrecht V, who revived music under the "Banner of Christ." He then lauded Albrecht V's virtues: bravery, piety, and wisdom.[51] Troiano also underscored how Albrecht's virtues were connected with his defense of the Catholic faith by associating his patronage of music with his efforts against heresy:

> At a young age the illustrious Albrecht did with sure understanding all things that were necessary for the best of his subjects and for the increase of his land. He had already banned heretics when he saw that the choir of his predecessors did not correspond with his heavenly sense, and he began to send out messengers and letters with gifts and promises throughout all of Europe and to search for learned, artistic, and experienced singers and instruments. In a short time he had gathered at his honorable court everything that one could obtain in Germany and other lands.[52]

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[48] Manuela Sissakis, "Bei Hof zu Tisch—Inszenierter Überfluss und Sparzwang am Fürstenhof um 1600," in *Symbolische Macht und inszenierte Staatlichkeit. "Verfassungskultur" als Element der Verfassungsgeschichte*, eds. Peter Brandt, et al. (Bonn: Dietz, 2005), 55.

[49] Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, "The Early Modern Festival Book: Function and Form," in *'Europa Triumphans': Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, eds., J.R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Margaret Shewing, vol. 1 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 7, 13.

[50] Straub, 41.

[51] Massimo Troiano, *Die Münchner Fürstenhochzeit von 1568. Massimo Troiano: Dialoge, Italienisch, Deutsch.*, ed. and transl. Horst Leuchtmann (Munich: Verlag Emil Katzbichler, 1980), first dialogue, 39.

[52] Troiano, 39–41.

In his second dialogue, Troiano devoted himself entirely to the genealogy of Albrecht of Bavaria taken from the legend of Bavarian origins by Johannes Aventinus. Aventinus was one of the most important early German Renaissance humanists patronized by the Wittelsbachs. Like many of his German contemporaries, he attempted to bring Germany back into greater importance than the ancients had. Sponsored by the Bavarian Witteslbachs, his *Epitome of a Bavarian Chronicle* attempted to prove that the ancient kingdom of Bavaria was formerly much larger. He also delved into his own version of Bavarian ethnogenesis.[53] Troiano recounted Aventinus' ethnogenesis, which began with a description of how classical myth became incorporated with biblical history. He claimed that Boius, the son of Hercules Alemannus, the eleventh German king, established the city of Prague and the kingdom of Bohemia, and was the ancestor for the Bavarians who lived at the time when Joshua crossed the river Jordan on dry ground. He also stated that other Bavarian kings were contemporaries of Trojan kings.[54]

To underscore the Wittelsbachs' claims of illustrious ancestors, Troiano had the characters of his dialogue discuss the Wittelsbach connections to these legends. One character Fortunio urged the other, Marinio, to discuss the Wittelsbach coat of arms: "please tell me before you go on whether the coat of arms of this illustrious family is the same as what their ancestors bore?" Marinio responded that they certainly were, for he himself had read about it in Johannes Aventinus's work. He also claimed he had personally seen in the room of Duke Wilhelm an ancient picture of Hercules Alemannus holding a lion on

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[53] Gerald Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis. The Life and Work of Johannes Aventinus 1477–1534* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 87, 104; Larry Silver, "German Patriotism in the Age of Dürer," in *Dürer and his Culture*, eds. Dagmar Eichberger and Charles Zika (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 38–68; for the continued importance of legends for early modern German historians in portraying "higher truths," see Elaine Tennant, "Perfecting the Past: Charles the Bold and Traditional Historiography in Early Modern Germany," in *Politics and Reformations: Histories and Reformations: Essays in Honor of Thomas A. Brady, Jr.*, eds. Ocker, et al., 177–196.

[54] Troiano, 12; Karl Schnith, "Die Geschichtsschreibung im Herzogtum Bayern unter den ersten Wittelsbachern (1180–1347)," in *Die Zeit der frühen Herzöge von Otto I. zu Ludwig dem Bayern. Beiträge zur Bayerischen Geschichte und Kunst 1180–1350*, ed. H. Glaser, vol. 1 (Munich: Hirmer, 1980), 359–367; for the relationship between art and history for Aventinus's work, see Ashley West, "The Exemplary Painting of Hans Burgkmair the Elder: History at the Munich Court of Wilhelm IV," in *Orthodoxies and Heterodoxies in Early Modern German Culture: Order and Creativity 1500–1750*, eds. Randolph Head and Daniel Christenson (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2007), 197–225.

a chain.[55] Troiano then had the dialogue reinforce the *pietas bavarica* by claiming that since their conversion to Christianity, Bavarians have been faithful to the Church:

> In our days the illustrious Albrecht demonstrates this. The damned heretics who were hunted and banned by his grace during my stay know how zealously careful he is to preserve the sign of the Holy Cross and of the Holy Church in his land. Also both the cities and regions know in which he let Catholic scholars preach the holy gospel uninterrupted.[56]

Troiano's description of Albrecht's wife, Anna of Austria, and their son, Wilhelm V, reinforced the dynastic notion of piety that constituted the *pietas bavarica* and its close relationship to the *pietas austriaca*:

> And how Christian is his wife, the illustrious Anna of Austria, all the poor know who are daily supported by her…The needy sick know to whom not only the necessary medicines out of the court apothecary are given with all the signs of piety, however expensive they may be, but also often are visited with full hands from the duchess. And all his true subjects know how God-fearing the illustrious Wilhelm is, he who is a protector of all pious works, and nourish their hopes that as a ruler he will be no less fair, wise, virtuous, and religious as his father Albrecht. Finally the poor orphans and oppressed widows also know who are allowed to come to him at every hour in order to receive the desired justice and earned grace.[57]

Following this discussion of piety, Troiano immediately had the dialogue character Marinio remark: "Out of the dynasty of these princes of Bavaria came emperors and kings, princes and dukes, up to the present day." The other character Fortunio responded "tell me please the name of an emperor." The character Marinio then when into an extensive discourse on the reign of the Emperor Ludwig the Bavarian. He claimed that Ludwig obtained the Emperorship from his rival Friedrich of Austria because of his "magnanimity and bravery." Then he discussed the competition over the crown that divided the Empire, and how Pope John XXII became angry with Ludwig the Bavarian because the pope supported the Welf claimant and was upset that the Duke of Milan, Galeazzo Visconti, militarily supported Ludwig. Marinio mentioned that because of his anger the pope excommunicated Ludwig the Bavarian as a rebel of the Church. He then talked

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[55] Troiano, 13–14.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.

about how Francesco Petrarch described the fear and devastation that Ludwig's army brought to Italy. He also mentioned the legend of a comet, plague of locusts, and Jewish plots against Christians in conjunction with the destruction of the Bavarian lands that accompanied Ludwig's bid for power. In order to escape the uncomfortable conclusions that could be drawn from Ludwig's actions for Wittelsbach legitimacy, Troiano had the character Marinio respond that he was going to stop talking about it because Fortunio's eyes looked "sleepy."[58]

In the confessional age, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs had a far more difficult time inserting the Emperor Ludwig the Bavarian into the *pietas bavarica* than the Habsburgs had in promoting the legacy of the medieval King of the Romans, Rudolf I of Habsburg. It was no small task for the Bavarian Wittelsbachs to associate their dynastic legitimacy as defenders of the faith with an emperor that had been excommunicated by the pope. Indeed, because of his difficulties with the pope, Ludwig the Bavarian's court was actually a haven for Conciliarist scholars who challenged papal supremacy.[59] Also, Aventinus' *Epitome of a Bavarian Chronicle* had a troubled publishing history because of its criticism of the papacy. When the Ingolstadt professor of theology Hieronymus Ziegler published a Latin edition of the chronicle, it was placed on the Index of Forbidden Books in 1554 and 1556. It actually took a Protestant member of the *Reichskammergericht* (Imperial Chamber Court), Simon Schard, to get it published in 1556, and Schard dedicated to the Palatine Elector Frederick III. Also, in 1580, the Palatine jurist Nikolaus Cisner published a new edition with a dedication to the Palatine Elector Ludwig VI.[60] Wilhelm V's son Maximilian went through numerous Jesuit historians in his attempt to rehabilitate Ludwig the Bavarian, because their own oaths of allegiance to the papacy militated against such a revisionist history.[61] Thus, Troiano's festival book was one of several attempts to incorporate Ludwig the Bavarian into the *pietas bavarica*.

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[58] Troiano, 14–17.

[59] Alois Schütz, "Der Kampf Ludwigs des Bayern gegen Papst Johannes XXII. und die Rolle der Gelehrten am Münchner Hof," in *Die Zeit der frühen Herzöge von Otto I. zu Ludwig dem Bayern. Beiträge zur Bayerischen Geschichte und Kunst 1180–1350*, ed. H. Glaser, vol. 1 (Munich: Hirmer, 1980), 391.

[60] Alexander Schmidt, *Vaterlandsliebe und Religionskonflikt. Politische Diskurse im Alten Reich (1555–1648)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2007), 131–132.

[61] Alois Schmid, "Geschichtsschreibung am Hofe Kurfürst Maximilians I. von Bayern," in *Um Glauben und Reich*, ed. H. Glaser, 330–340.

The rest of Troiano's festival book provided readers an opportunity to imagine the opulence, and hence prestige, of the Wittelsbachs manifested in this wedding. For example, there was extensive discussion of clothing worn by the participants and their seating placement. There was even a detailed description of the numerous types of salads and the number of plates for each (the average was fifteen).[62] It was thanks to this kind of detail to the wedding festivities that we can understand how the affair was a blend of religious expression and secular entertainment. For example, besides church ceremonies, processions and devotional music, there was also entertainment by dwarves, and even a procession in which Bacchus, the god of wine, held a wine goblet atop a keg while being paraded about in a horse-drawn wagon.[63] In a sense, this parallels Wilhelm V's commission of paintings by the court artist Friedrich Sustris to decorate the Trausnitz castle in Landshut. His paintings were meant to demonstrate Wilhelm and Renata's legitimacy as defenders of the faith. Nevertheless, this did not stop Wilhelm from having the walls of the "Stairway of Fools" decorated with scenes from the commedia dell'arte for the private pleasure of the duke and his intimates.[64]

Material ostentation mixed with religious awe was also evident when the character Fortunio recounted the singing of hymns before giving this description of the bride: "…I saw the beautiful bride whose head was so gloriously adorned, and whose expensive jewels blinded the beholder like the sun." Marinio immediately asked for a description of the types of stones.[65] Likewise, there was a lengthy description of the gifts given by the ambassadors to the bride. The account of the gift-giving also illuminated how the Palatine Wittelsbachs actually acted as wedding-crashers. The duke of Lorraine could not be present at the event, nor could his gift be given at the time, because the armies of the Prince of Condé and Count Palatine Johann Casimir were blocking the border in their war against the king of France.[66]

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[62] Troiano, 53–58.
[63] Ibid., 80–87.
[64] Susan Maxwell, "A Marriage Commemorated in the Stairway of Fools," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 36 (2005): 717–741; for Wilhelm's continued private passion for the arts after abdicating, see also S. Maxwell, "The Pursuit of Art and Pleasure in the Secret Grotto of Wilhelm V of Bavaria," *Renaissance Quarterly* 61 (2008): 414–462.
[65] Troiano, 93.
[66] Ibid., 93–95.

Attached to the end of the festival book were homage poems. One by the Italian humanist Giuseppe Betussi perhaps best expressed the meaning of this wedding for dynastic continuity and ambition:

> O family of Renata! Out of which today there are so many of illustrious and famous blood whose ancestors carried the kings' mantle in this city; who God chose out of so many. It is impossible that another could extol or praise a better, laudable, higher union, than that in which she marries with this great and important prince who has no other that can surpass him. So I see be born out of these, distinguished heroes who still keep themselves hidden in their nest and that are worthy of the imperial scepter! And so now let it ring with a loud and clear sound…[67]

At the women's gate for the tournament during the wedding celebrations there were images of famous heroines depicting medieval and Renaissance tastes, including Penthesilea who was the daughter of Mars and queen of the Amazons, and Joan of Arc.[68] That Renata, another Frenchwoman like Joan, would share the strong characteristics of politically active females was not without some truth. The Guise women who were active supporters of the French Catholic League were related to the House of Lorraine.[69] Neither Catholics nor Protestants made public distinctions between women of different classes: they gave them the same admonition to be "chaste, silent, and obedient." In reality, however, they knew that aristocratic women wielded more power than other women. For example, Luther kept up correspondence with prominent noblewomen, and Calvin was very fervent in his attempt to bring prominent women over to the Calvinist cause, just as Loyola was for the Catholics. Indeed, noblewomen of both faiths had the ability to demonstrate religious devotion on a public level.[70]

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[67] Giussepe Betussi, "ALL'ILLVSTRISS.ET ECCELENTISS. SIGNORA RENATA DI LORENO, Duchessa di Bauiera," appended to Troiano Massimo, *Die Münchner Fürstenhochzeit von 1568. Massimo Troiano: Dialoge, Italienisch, Deutsch.*, ed. and transl. Horst Leuchtmann, 342–343.

[68] Straub, 150–152.

[69] Penny Richards, "The Guise Women: Politics, War and Peace," in *Gender, Power and Privilege in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Jessica Munns and Penny Richards (London: Longman, 2003), 159–165.

[70] Wiesner-Hanks, "Nuns, Wives, and Mothers: Women and the Reformation in Germany," 21; Charmarie J. Blaisdell, "Calvin's and Loyola's Letters to Women: Political and Spiritual Counsel in the Sixteenth Century, " in *Calviniana. Ideas and Influence of Jean Calvin*, ed. Robert Schnucker (Kirksville: Sixteenth Century Studies, 1988), 235–253.

Renata of Lorraine proved to be a classic example of a consort capable of political influence when understood within the broader context of dynastic legitimacy. Wilhelm V asked Renata for advice on political issues, although she was the consort.[71] Likewise, in Mathias Rader's commissioned work *Bavaria Sancta*, Renata and Elisabeth Renata were listed among the godly Wittelsbach rulers. At the time Maximilian began expanding the Munich court, there were only three court chapels, and one of them was renamed the Renata Chapel in memory of the religious zeal and patronage of his mother, Renata of Lorraine.[72]

The Heidelberg court preacher Johann Willing took advantage of the marriage of Frederick III with Amalia of Neuenahr in 1569 to claim that Catholics did not recognize the importance of marriage. Willing claimed that the "worldly-wise" promotion of celibacy meant that the Catholics did not recognize the sacred character of matrimony.[73] Despite Willing's claim, Catholics were well aware of the importance of marriage for progeny. In fact, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs enforced state control over marriages in Bavaria according to Tridentine principals, just as the Palatine Wittelsbachs attempted to confessionalize marriages in the Palatinate along Protestant lines.[74] Indeed, the consorts as mothers played a critical role in shaping dynastic legitimacy for both Catholic and Protestant Wittelsbachs in this era. In this sense, it is important to understand politics within a dynastic or familial framework in which the mothers were essential in perpetuating the dynasty, and their religious devotion strengthened the dynastic claims as defenders of the faith.[75]

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[71] Crignis-Mentelberg, 69.

[72] P. Steiner, 52–56.

[73] Johann Willing, *Als der Durchleuchtigste hochgeborne Fürst unnd Herr… Friedrich Pfaltzgrave bey Rhein.… mit der Wolgebornen Frawen… Amelia von Newahr… seinen hochzeitlichen tag hielte, beschahe diese Vermanung von der Ehelichen Zucht und keuschheit zu Heidelberg in der Schlosskirchen.…* (Heidelberg, 1569), 1–4. Rare book. Reformation in Heidelberg, HEW-81. Leiden: IDC Publishers, 1998. Text-fiche.

[74] Strasser, *State of Virginity: Gender, Religion, and Politics in an Early Modern Catholic State*, 54; Joel Harrington, *Reordering Marriage and Society in Reformation Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 44, 47, esp. 98–100.

[75] Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca. Österreichische Frömmigkeit im Barock*, 2d ed. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1982); Charles Ingrao and Andrew Thomas, "Piety and Power: The Empresses-Consort of the High Baroque," in *Queenship in Europe 1660–1815: The Role of the Consort*, ed. Clarissa Campbell Orr (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 107–130.

Women, as well as men, understood their personal significance within a familial context that promoted family honor and piety.[76] Indeed, the term "gender" from the late middle ages to the 1700s meant, not a modern sociological category, but the connection between generations.[77] A classic expression of this was made by Juan Luis Vives in his mirror of princess treatise that was influential on both the Protestant and Catholic Wittelsbachs: "The human race, mortal in each of its members taken singly, becomes eternal through the supply of offspring, and so that this offspring would be holy and pure God instituted marriage, by whose sanction we may serve nature without sin."[78] The essential link between women and dynastic continuity was evident in the fact that dynastic portraits series were common for female rooms within the court.[79] Also, female funeral sermons focused on the "rhythmic" life of a woman rather than on public performance. The depiction of women in funeral literature also demonstrates that women were just as important as men for the honor and prestige of the family.[80]

The role of women to produce heirs was not taken lightly. Among the possible reasons for the increased need for devotion by Renata of Lorraine were the difficulties of childbirth and miscarriages. Renata and Wilhelm's first child was a son, Christoph, who was born prematurely and died only a few hours after delivery. Their second child was a daughter, Christine, born in 1572 who only survived to the age of 8. They buried both Christine and Christoph in the Wittelsbach ancestral crypt in the pilgrimage church at Andechs. The outward expression of Wilhelm V and Renata's grief over Christoph's death manifested itself in a pilgrimage they undertook first to Tuntenhausen and then to Altötting. They went by foot, which would have been very difficult for Renata since she was still recovering from childbirth. Besides communion at these sites, they devoted much of their time to prayer. They

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[76] Heide Wunder, *He is the Sun, She is the Moon: Women in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 207.

[77] Id., "Geschlechtsidentitäten. Frauen und Männer im späten Mittelalter und am Beginn der Neuzeit," in *Frauengeschichte-Geschlechtergeschichte*, eds. id. and Karin Hausen (Franfurt: Campus, 1992), 133.

[78] Vives, *De Institutione Feminae Christianae*, 177.

[79] Franke, 121.

[80] Wunder, "Der gesellschaftliche Ort von Frauen der gehobenen Stände im 17. Jahrhundert," 51–52.

also offered numerous gifts to the pilgrimage churches, as well as alms for the poor, in hopes for Marian protection over the dynasty.[81]

Tuntenhausen was one of the oldest Marian pilgrimage sites in Bavaria, dating back to 1441. Miracle books located there indicate that the Wittelsbach Dynasty had long considered it a special dynastic site for devotion.[82] Later, in an ode dedicated to the Virgin of Tuntenhausen, the Jesuit Jacob Balde appealed for Mary's protection for the second son of Maximilian who had become seriously ill.[83] Referring to the disease, Balde wrote:

> It has seized the incomparably handsome child
> inside the thresholds of his place:
> the handsome child, who is the second hope of the FATHER,
> the second glory of the MOTHER,
> your gifts, VIRGIN.
> And unless you apply medicinal herbs at the right time;
> he will perish before his day,
> plucked away like a little flower by a finger.[84]

Elisabeth Renata was the daughter of Charles III of Lorraine and so the niece of Renata, and Renata played a prominent role in making the match between Maximilian and Elisabeth Renata. In particular, Renata emphasized the virtues of Lorraine princesses as well as the fact that Elisabeth Renata had a good dowry (300,000 Kronen). Renata also succeeded in quelling Wilhelm V's fear that Elisabeth Renata was too close of kin. The marriage between Maximilian and Elisabeth Renata occurred in 1595 in Nancy. The same linguistically gifted court official, Jean Baptista Guidebon Cavalchino, escorted Elisabeth Renata, just as he had Renata when she first came to Munich.[85] Only a few years before he abdicated, Wilhelm V also began conceiving of a monument to glorify the houses of Wittelsbach and Lorraine. He was inspired after seeing the monumental tomb of Emperor Maximilian I during his visit to the court church in Innsbruck. Because of financial straits, he was not able to finish the ancestral coat of arms depicting the alliance between Wittelsbach and Lorraine in St. Michael's Church.[86] Nevertheless, the

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[81] Crignis-Mentelberg, 41–42; Albrecht, *Maximilian I. von Bayern 1573–1651*, 89.
[82] Woeckel, 33.
[83] Jacob Balde, "Legatio Secvnda ad D. Virg. Duntenhusanam," *Silvae* 2, *Parthenia*, 3.
[84] Ibid., 3.16–24.
[85] Albrecht, *Maximilian I. von Bayern 1573–1651*, 119, 128.
[86] Hans R. Weihrauch,"Das Grabmalprojekt für Herzog Wilhelm V. von Bayern," in *Um Glauben und Reich*, ed. H. Glaser, 176.

dynastic union became very visible in the *Kunstkammer* with the double portrait of Wilhelm and Renata by Hans von Aachen in 1598.[87]

Just as the Lorraine-Bavarian Wittelsbach connection reflected marital alliances strengthening the *pietas bavarica* and increasing the tensions between the Bavarian and Palatine branches, so too marriage alliances between the Palatine Wittelsbachs and the House of Orange strengthened the 'Palatine Myth.' In 1572, Charlotte of Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Montpensier, had left her monastery and stayed at the court of Frederick III. Frederick III coordinated the marriage between Charlotte and William I of Orange. Already in 1569, Frederick III had married Amalia of Neuenahr, the widow of Count Henry of Breberode and a staunch supporter of William of Orange, as well as a cousin of the Prince of Condé.[88] Frederick III's court advisor Ehem and his court preacher Petrus Dathenus, a Dutch exile, encouraged the union between Frederick and Amalia. Frederick's second marriage at the age of 54 with Amalia of Neuenahr, just two years after his first wife Maria of Brandenburg-Kulmbach died, was considered sensational at the time and a political statement of Frederick III's solidarity with international Calvinism.[89]

Under Frederick III, Heidelberg became one of the leading publishing centers for anti-Spanish propaganda. For example, in 1567 Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanius (pseudonym) published in Heidelberg an important work describing the Spanish Inquisition.[90] Dutch resistance theory against Spain was intimately related with that of the Huguenot's struggle with the French crown.[91] In 1578, Frederick III even connected his aid to the States General with their ability to become a free republic like the Swiss and Imperial cities.[92] Frederick III also granted considerable financial assistance to the Dutch so that,

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[87] Johannes Erichsen, "Princeps Armis Decoratus. Zur Ikonographie Kurfürst Maximilians I," in *Um Glauben und Reich*, ed. H. Glaser, 198.

[88] Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660*, 35.

[89] Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, 253–255.

[90] Peer Schmidt, *Spanische Universalmonarchie oder "teutsche Libertet." Das Spanische Imperium in der Propaganda des Dreißigjährigen Krieges* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2001), 71, 252–254.

[91] Martin van Gelderen, "Political Theory of the Dutch Revolt and the Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos," *Il pensiero politico* 19 (1986): 163–181; Nicollete Mout, "Abschied vom Erasmianismus. Humanisten und der niederländische Aufstand." In *Das Ende der Renaissance: Europäische Kultur um 1600*, eds. August Buck and Tibor Klaniczay, no. 6, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987), 63–80.

[92] Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660*, 16–18.

like the Huguenots, they could hire mercenary armies.[93] Also, like the Huguenots, the Dutch Calvinists considered themselves a "New Israel."[94] Thus, Frederick III predicated his military support for the Dutch on the same biblical foundation that justified his defense of the Huguenots. Indeed, at one time he encouraged Protestant princes to help William of Orange support Condé.[95] In a sense they considered themselves collectively as the Children of Israel.

Like the Palatinate's geographical position with France, the Palatinate was also at a strategic juncture for the Spanish Habsburgs' attempts to quell the Dutch Revolt. The Elector Palatine's Lower Palatinate and the cadet line of Zweibrücken dominated the Rhine valley from approximately Speyer to Mainz and obstructed the Spanish Army of Flanders from the quickest rout to the Netherlands via sailing down the Rhine. Frederick III took advantage of his position within this Rhineland corridor. For example, in 1568 the Palatinate took over a convoy of over 150,000 *escudos* (approximately 300,000 florins) in textiles and currency that was intended for the bankers of the Army of Flanders. In 1572 the Palatine's ally, the Bishop of Strasbourg, stripped weapons from a regiment that had been raised to assist the Spanish Netherlands. In November of 1573, the Palatine Elector's vassals destroyed 500 quintals of powder sent by the Emperor for the Army of Flanders. Likewise, in 1574 Gascon cavalry in the service of the Elector surprise attacked a newly raised regiment for the Army of Flanders and would not let the army obtain the weapons they had paid for in Strasbourg.[96] Often Casimir participated in these events and the Palatine family gave far more than lip-service to their fellow Calvinists in the Netherlands, just as they had in France. In 1574, Frederick III's youngest son, Christoph, along with two counts of Nassau, led troops as knightly service for the Prince of Orange, a service which Christoph associated with the defense of religion and the fatherland. Christoph died in this service

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[93] Ibid. 5.

[94] G. Gruenhuis, "Calvinism and National Consciousness: The Dutch Republic as the New Israel," in *Britain and the Netherlands*, vol. 7 *Church and State since the Reformation*, eds. A. Duke an C. Tamse (The Hague, 1981): 118–134; P. Regan, "Calvinism and the Dutch Israel Thesis," in *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, vol. 2 *The Later Reformation*, ed. Bruce Gordon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996), 91–107.

[95] Vogler, 62–63.

[96] Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567–1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries' Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 53–54.

at the Battle of Mooker Heide.[97] The only lull in Palatine support of Huguenots and Dutch Calvinists came when Ludwig VI succeeded his father as Elector. Ludwig VI suffered from asthma and was not a military figure like his brother Johann Casimir, but he enjoyed considerable popularity among Lutherans in the Empire. Indeed, he, like many other Lutherans, shared the same view as Catholics towards the Calvinists: Calvinists were creators of civil disorder and heresy.[98]

The Electoral Palatinate resumed its Calvinist nature when Casimir became regent, and Frederick III's old advisors Ehem and Zuleger were still very influential. Also, Dathenus, who had fled from religious persecution, as well as several other advisors, sympathized with the mob at Ghent who opposed William of Oranges' policy of religious toleration towards Catholics. One advisor, Beutterich, actually published criticisms against William, and the States General even threatened him with the death penalty. Likewise, in 1584 the States General imprisoned Dathenus.[99] Thus, there was considerable friction for a time with William of Orange because Casimir himself did not support Calvinist *politiques* who were willing to join forces with Catholics.[100] Nevertheless, the ties with the House of Orange continued. For example, Maurice of Orange, a son of William of Orange, studied at the University of Heidelberg and lived with the family of the Chancellor Ehem.[101]

Isolation in the Empire prompted the Palatine *Oberrat* (High Council) to secure foreign alliances, a policy especially stressed by Count Johann VI of Orange-Nassau. He promoted connections with France, England, the States General, and his relative, the future Prince of Orange, Count Maurice of Orange-Nassau. Count Johann of Nassau supervised the defense preparations in the Palatinate and was the leading player for the match between his niece Louise-Juliana of Orange and Frederick IV. The confessional divisions within the Palatine Wittelsbachs had already stymied an earlier proposal to have Frederick IV marry a daughter of the Lutheran Count Philipp Ludwig of Palatinate-Neuburg because they feared his influence would be too

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[97] Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 69.
[98] Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, 267–268.
[99] Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660*, 20.
[100] Cohn, "The Territorial Princes in Germany's Second Reformation, 1559–1622," 153; Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 87.
[101] Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660*, 38.

dangerous for the survival of Calvinism in the Palatinate. On the other hand, some of the council feared that the Orange match would incur the wrath of Habsburg Spain. Finally, in the late summer of 1592, the Heidelberg advisors Plessen and Grünrade went to The Hague to discuss the Orange marriage proposal.[102] The marriage arrangement reflected current patterns of confessional diplomacy. Calvinist rulers were often connected by marriage, and it was not uncommon for German nobles to marry Dutch nobles. Most often the marriages took place after the rulers had already become Calvinists or served militarily in the Netherlands. For example, family ties played a significant role in the conversion of Count Palatine Johann I (1569–1604) of Zweibrücken in 1588.[103] Thus, the bonds between the House of Orange and the Palatine Wittelsbachs became even stronger in 1593 when William of Orange's daughter, Louise-Juliana, married the Palatine Elector Frederick IV.[104] In a congratulatory letter to Johann of Orange-Nassau, Maurice of Orange-Nassau expressed his belief that the marriage received God's blessing.[105]

Just as wedding descriptions emphasized genealogical identity, so too did funeral and commemorative literature; it was part of the life cycle of a dynasty.[106] The commemorative biography offered for Louise-Juliana was a good example of this. The author, Friedrich Spanheim, was a Calvinist professor of theology at Leiden who had also studied at Heidelberg and wrote a Calvinist version of the Thirty Years' War up to the year 1631. In his commemorative biography, he underscored her importance within a dynastic context: "A princess is presented here who had the advantage of being born from a blood that has produced nothing but heroes and who by marriage entered into a house which has passed many centuries as one of the premier houses of the Empire."[107] Besides the description of her birth in Holland, he praised

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[102] Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, 390–391.

[103] Cohn, "The Territorial Princes in Germany's Second Reformation, 1559–1622," 156.

[104] Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, 402, 410; Geoffrey Parker, *The Thirty Years War* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 26.

[105] Maurice of Nassau to Johann of Nassau (The Hague, 21 July, 1593), in *Archives ou Correspondance Inédite de la Maison D'Orange-Nassau*, ed. G. Groen van Prinsterer (Utrecht: Klemink et Fils, 1859), vol. 4, 250–251.

[106] Jill Bepler, "Frauen und dynastisches Bewußtsein in den Funeralwerke und Diarien als Quelle zeremonieller praxis," in *Dynastie und Herrschaftssicherung in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. H. Wunder, 135–1139.

[107] Friedrich Spanheim, *Mémoires sur la vie et la mort de Loyse Julian, Électrice*

her father, William of Orange, and the Dutch Revolt. He also lauded the House of Bourbon because of Louise-Juliana's mother: "This royal blood of France has been mixed with that of Nassau in order to give us this princess."[108] He noted that she was thus a descendant of Charlemagne and St. Louis, and he offered an elaborate account of the genealogy of the House of Orange. Spanheim claimed that it was divine providence that brought Louise-Juliana's mother out of the abbey so that she could be a "special instrument of his grace" for the establishment of more honorable houses. He recounted that after the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre, she was eventually led to the court of Frederick III through her sister who had married François de la Marche, the Duke of Bouillon and Lord of Sedan. Furthermore, he referred to Frederick III's court at Heidelberg as a "school of virtue."[109]

Spanheim then spent a considerable amount of time praising the Palatine Wittelsbachs. He emphasized their electoral status and their assertion that they were descendants of Charlemagne, just as their Bavarian cousins claimed. Also, just as the Bavarian Wittelsbach supporters emphasized the Emperor Ludwig the Bavarian as a model of integrity and zeal, so too the Palatine Wittelsbach's champions emphasized the Palatine's prominent late medieval ancestor, Ruprecht King of the Germans. Spanheim also noted that the House of Orange and the Palatine Wittelsbachs had first established ties through the medieval marriage arrangement between Count Palatine Rudolf, the elder brother of Emperor Ludwig the Bavarian, who had married Mechtilde, a daughter of Emperor Adolf, Count of Nassau. To further underscore the notion of Palatine legitimacy, he recounted the service Palatine Electors offered towards the Calvinists in France and the Netherlands. Spanheim also claimed that the marriage was a "perfect union" that was "not only happy but also fertile" and emphasized how Louise-Juliana was devoted to the pious education of her children. He also praised her for her efforts at fiscal responsibility and for not letting the court become a "theater of impiety and of blasphemy."[110] However, for the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the Bavarian Wittelsbachs, the

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Palatine (Leiden, 1645), 1. Rare book. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

[108] Ibid., 2–10, quote on p. 10.

[109] Ibid., 11–36.

[110] Ibid., 37–71.

Palatine-Orange connection only confirmed in their minds that the Palatine court was a dangerous theater of 'heresy' and 'rebellion.'

Until World War II, there were no less than 32 marriages between Habsburgs and the Bavarian Wittelsbachs, 10 of them in the late Middle Ages alone. It was especially intense in the sixteenth century when their shared role in the Counter Reformation favored confessional marriage diplomacy that greatly weakened their ties to their Palatine cousins. In a sense, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs and Habsburgs could be considered one family at the time of the Catholic Reformation and Counter Reformation, though not always a loving family.[111] After all, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs, as well as the Palatine Wittelsbachs, had also once been contenders with the Habsburgs for dominance within the Empire in the late Middle Ages.[112] In fact, Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria was quite neutral in the struggles between the Protestant princes in the Empire and the Habsburg Emperor Charles V until Albrecht's marriage in 1546 at Regensburg with Charles V's niece Anna, the daughter of King Ferdinand I.[113]

Ferdinand I required Anna of Austria to renounce all claims to the Habsburg inheritance when she married Albrecht V.[114] Still, Albrecht had hoped for Ferdinand I's support in his attempt to revive the late medieval Treaty of Pavia, which would have forced the Palatine Wittelsbachs to at least share the electoral title. However, Ferdinand I did not support his son-in-law's claim at the Imperial Diet of 1559 because he did not want the Bavarian Wittelsbachs to become a threat to Habsburg hegemony within the Empire.[115] When Ferdinand I's son Maximilian II became a Catholic Emperor sympathetic to the Protestants, Albrecht V filled in the Catholic leadership vacuum in

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[111] Karl Vocelka and Lynne Heller, *Die Private Welt der Habsburger. Leben und Alltag einer Familie* (Graz: Verlag Styria, 1998), 118.

[112] Alois Gerlich, *Habsburg-Luxemburg-Wittelsbach im Kampf um die deutsche Königskrone: Studien zur Vorgeschichte des Königtums Ruprechts von der Pfalz* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1960); Jean-Marie Moeglin, *Dynastischer Bewußtsein und Geschichtsschreibung: zum Selbstverständnis, der Wittelsbacher,Habsburger und Hohenzollern im Spätmittelalter* (Munich: Stiftung Historisches Kolleg, 1993).

[113] Manfred Heim, "Österreich. Konfessionspolitische Nachchbaschafthilfe unter Herzog Albrecht V (1550–1579)," in *Bayern mitten in Europa: von frühmittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, eds. Alois Schmid and Katharina Weigand (Munich: Beck, 2005), 129.

[114] Vocelka and Heller, *Die Private Welt der Habsburger. Leben und Alltag einer Familie*, 197.

[115] Heil, 191–206, 205.

the Empire for those who supported a more aggressive stance against Protestant inroads.[116]

The marriage of Albrecht V and Anna of Austria's daughter, Maria of Bavaria, to the Habsburg Archduke Karl II of Styria in 1571 proved critical to the Counter-Reformation success in Inner Austria.[117] Maria of Bavaria also proved to be a critical figure in keeping the dynastic ties between the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs tight in her era.[118] All of the Austrian Habsburgs since the time of Ferdinand II are descendants from the union between Maria of Bavaria and Archduke Karl II of Styria. The wedding celebrations took place in Vienna and Graz with pomp intended to impress the Lutheran inhabitants. The model of the marriage festivities was that of Wilhelm V and Renata's wedding. Actually, Karl II and Maria first met each other at the Munich nuptial celebrations. Like the Munich wedding, the wedding for Maria of Bavaria and Karl was extremely expensive, in order to show sufficient prestige; Karl II even had to take out a loan from the Fugger family.[119]

Maria had already made a good impression on Karl II, but the key factors for the marriage were political and confessional. Archduke Karl II was a son of Emperor Ferdinand I and brother of Emperor Maximilian II, and the Habsburgs went through intense marriage negotiations before deciding on Maria of Bavaria. For years, there had been debates about a possible marriage between Karl II and Queen Elizabeth I of England. For Elizabeth, it had the advantage of obtaining Habsburg support without the fear of Habsburg attempts to reconvert the British isles to Catholicism that would have come with a marriage

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[116] Heim, 132.

[117] Regina Pörtner, *The Counter-Reformation in Central Europe. Styria 1580–1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 28; see also Günther Cerwinka, "Die politischen Beziehungen der Fürstenhöfe zu Graz und München im Zeitalter des konfessionellen Absolutismus 1564–1619" (Ph.D. diss., University of Graz, 1966).

[118] Magdalena Sánchez, "A Woman's Influence: Archduchess Maria of Bavaria and the Spanish Habsburgs," in *The Lion and the Eagle: Interdisciplinary Essays on German-Spanish Relations over the Centuries* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), eds. Conrad Kent et al., 91–107.

[119] Karl Vocelka, *Habsburgische Hochzeiten 1550–1600:. Kulturgeschichtliche Studien zum manieristischen Repräsentationsfest*. Cologne: Böhlau, 1976), 7, 47–49, 55, 71; Robert Lindell, "The Wedding of Archduke Charles and Maria of Bavaria in 1571," *Early Music* 18 (1989): 253–269; Harriet Rudolph, "Humanistische Feste? Habsburgische Festkultur in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Funktionen des Humanismus: Studien zum Nutzen des Neuen in der humanistischen Kultur*, eds. Maissen and Walther, 176–177, 188–189.

with the King of Spain or the Emperor. Nevertheless, religious differences and Elizabeth's own qualms caused this proposal to fall into that grave filled with many other marriage proposals for the politically astute virgin queen. Also, the Wittelsbachs had earlier considered a proposal to have Maria of Bavaria marry Henry of Lorraine, Duke of Guise (1550–1588). Furthermore, the Emperor had an interest in having her marry John Siegmund Zápolya (1540–1571), Prince of Transylvania. This particular plan failed due to Albrecht V's resistance to a marriage between his daughter and a Unitarian. For Albrecht, a Unitarian was the same as a pagan. Concomitantly, Albrecht was concerned about the insecure political environment of Transylvania, since it often served as a Turkish satellite. In the end, both the Wittelsbachs and the Habsburgs were more concerned about the preservation of family and religion. Indeed, because of their close consanguinity, the families had to obtain a papal dispensation for the marriage.[120]

Maria of Bavaria served as a vital link between Wilhelm V and the confessionalization of the court in Inner Austria. Bavaria's success in the Catholic Reformation and Counter-Reformation activities served as an inspirational model for Inner Austria. In the Munich Conference of October 1579, Wilhelm V of Bavaria and his brother-in-law Karl II of Styria, as well as Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol inaugurated the program for Catholic confessionalization for Inner Austria. Following Bavaria's lead, Karl II quit appointing Protestant officials after 1587. Likewise, following Bavaria's example, Karl II established a church council, and after 1585 Inner Austria obtained its first university, the Jesuit University of Graz. In 1587, Karl II forbade study at foreign universities.[121] Besides acting as a liaison between the courts of Graz and Munich, Maria of Bavaria also patronized Wolfgang Schranz, the privy counselor and court vice-chancellor of Karl II. Likewise, she, along with her brother Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria, arranged Schranz's marriage with one of Maria's ladies-in-waiting, Margarethe von Pappenheim.[122]

It was with Maria of Bavaria's encouragement that the Austrian Habsburgs first began using Jesuits as court educators. Maria and Karl's

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[120] Vocelka, *Die Habsburgische Hochzeiten 1550–1600*, 47–51; see also Kurt Diemer, "Die Heiratsverhandlungen zwischen Königin Elisabeth I. von England und Erzherzog Karl von Innerösterreich 1558–1570" (Ph.D. diss., University of Tübingen, 1969).

[121] Kohler, 401–402.

[122] Ibid., 210; Heim, 121–133.

son, the future Emperor Ferdinand II, began his studies at the Jesuit College in Graz at age 6.[123] It was also through the efforts of Maria of Bavaria that Ferdinand II studied at the University of Ingolstadt in 1590, a move which Wilhelm V supported. Maria of Bavaria was more confident about the Catholic education attainable at Ingolstadt than at Graz. She also did not want him to attend either the University of Prague or the University of Vienna because he could have encountered Protestants there. This decision was seminal because it was during his stay at the University of Ingolstadt that Ferdinand II developed an important friendship with his cousin Maximilian of Bavaria that proved critical during the Thirty Years' War.[124] The Wittelsbach-Habsburg ties were also strengthened in 1600 when Ferdinand II married Maria Anna of Bavaria, a daughter of Wilhelm and Renata.

An important advantage the Bavarian Wittelsbachs gained by their marriage alliances with the Habsburgs was the ability to enjoy the fruits of Habsburg patronage for their own dynastic prestige. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed the peak of establishing or reviving chivalric orders such as the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece (*Toison d'Or*). The rituals associated with these orders also promoted an ambience of pious fidelity between ruler and vassals that underscored their elite status. The Habsburgs borrowed from their Burgundian inheritance to claim as their own the Order of the Golden Fleece.[125] Nevertheless, these orders did not supersede the 'traditional' meaning of honor that emphasized supporting the greater good of the kingdom or territory. For example, the Knights of the Golden Fleece played an important role in the deposition of Emperor Rudolf II in 1612.[126] Thus, when the Bavarian Wittelsbachs became Knights of the

[123] Vocelka and Heller, *Die Private Welt der Habsburger*, 58.

[124] Kohler, 403.

[125] Karl Vocelka, *Die Politische Propaganda Kaiser Rudolfs II. (1576–1612)* (Vienna: 1981), 142–144; see also Günther Probszt-Ohstorff, "Der Kulturkreis des Ordens vom Goldenen Vlies" *Adler* 84 (1966): 109–114; Arjo Vanderjagt, "The Princely Culture of the Valois Dukes of Burgundy," in *Princes and Princely Culture 1450–1650*, vol. 1, eds. Gosman et al., 72–79.

[126] Adamson, 21–22; see also D'Arcy Jonathon Dacre Boulton, "The Order of the Golden Fleece and the Creation of Burgundian National Identity," and Bernhard Sterchi "The Importance of Reputation in the Theory and Practice of Burgundian Chivalry: Jean de Lannoy, the Croÿs and the Order of the Golden Fleece," in *The Ideology of Burgundy: The Promotion of National Consciousness 1364–1565*, eds. D'Arcy Jonathon Dacre Boulton and Jan R. Veenstra (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2006), 21–115.

Golden Fleece, they used their membership to further augment their own sense of legitimacy within the Empire and abroad.

The funeral of Albrecht V symbolized the often symbiotic relationship between the Wittelsbachs and Habsburgs during this age. For example, the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece ornamented Albrecht's corpse. Likewise, the news of his death brought ambassadorial news of consolation from the Imperial court in Prague, where they grieved his death as one of a good friend and relative. In stark contrast, the representatives of Palatine Elector Ludwig VI and his brother Johann Casimir did not express condolences, but a concern about repayment of debts. Although later, Ludwig VI and Casimir apologized for their ambassadors' behavior, the episode demonstrated the increasing distance between the Palatine and Wittelsbach relations at the beginning of the confessional age.[127] Likewise, Blasius Kirchmayr composed an *Epicedium*, the Greek word for a funeral song, for Albrecht V that reflects the confessionalization of humanism and the intimate connection between the Bavarian Wittelsbachs and the Habsburgs.[128] Near the beginning of the publication was Albrecht V's portrait with the collar of the Golden Fleece prominently displayed. In his work, Kirchmayr compared Albrecht V's wife, Anna of Austria, as an "Austrian Dido" and Albrecht as another Aeneas, among other things, that served to reinforce the dynastic mythological mystique between the two houses.[129] Albrecht and Anna's son and successor, Wilhelm V, was formally granted membership in the Golden Fleece order at Landshut just a little after Rudolf II (1585).[130] These dynastic bonds came at the expense of Wittelsbach dynastic unity.

Palatine intervention in Spanish affairs through their support of the Dutch Revolt stirred up a strong reaction by the Habsburg Emperors who supported their Spanish cousins. For example, even though in 1573 the Imperial ambassador wrote to Emperor Maximilian II that he was well received at the Heidelberg court,[131] Palatine actions pro-

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[127] Czerny, 312–321.

[128] Hans Henrik-Krummacher "Das barocke Epicedium, rhetorische Tradition und Gelegenheitsdichtung," *Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft* 18 (1974): 89–147.

[129] Blasius Kirchmayr, *Epicedium…in obitum serenissimi et illustrissimi principis ac domini, domini ALberti gloriosae memoria…quo die eidem Serenissimo Principi Graetij, Styriae Metropoli, exequiae pie celebratae sunt* (Munich, 1580), 7, 48. Rare book. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

[130] Vocelka, *Die Politische Propaganda Kaiser Rudolfs II. (1576–1612)*, 142–144.

[131] Imperial ambassador to Maximilian II (Heidelberg, April 18, 1573), in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhohn, vol. 2, 598.

voked Maximilian II into a tense correspondence with Casimir the same year.[132] In one letter, Casimir justified his efforts to set the Duke of Alba's powder transport on fire by arguing that the Duke of Alba had already demonstrated himself to be a worse tyrant than any Turk.[133] Maximilian II retorted that he would not tolerate this kind of action against "our dear cousin, brother-in-law, and brother the King of Spain."[134] The Emperor was also disturbed about troop movements by Frederick III because he was concerned that the Palatinate's actions would drag the Empire into the French and Spanish-Dutch wars. Also, many Lutheran and Catholic princes were upset, especially Saxony, Württemberg, and naturally Bavaria, who feared religious disturbances in the Empire. Frederick III defended his actions by claiming that it was a traditional German liberty that allowed princes to engage in foreign military service, so long as it did not deal with the Emperor or the Empire. He also claimed that he was defending the true faith against tyrannical suppression by godless rulers.[135] Frederick III also justified his interference in the affairs of other kingdoms by claiming that all Christians were members of the same body, an argument found in the Huguenot tract written under the pseudonym Junius Brutus just after the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*. According to this theory, if he did not intervene, then he would share the same guilt of tyranny and persecution.[136]

Already in 1562, Frederick III had attempted to use his office as vicar to prevent the election of Maximilian II on the grounds of protecting German princely liberties from Habsburg "tyranny."[137] Indeed, Frederick III usually equated imperial interests with religious interests. Only two years after the Peace of Augsburg, Frederick III advocated denying war taxes against the Turks if the Emperor did not grant complete religious liberty to Protestants. The Palatine Electors used the same tactics in 1576, 1582, 1594, 1597, and 1608, but never

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[132] For a more extensive treatment on the relationship between Maximilian II and the Palatinate, see Andreas Edel's, *Der Kaiser und Kurpfalz: eine Studie zu den Grundelementen politischen Handels bei Maximilian II (1564–1576)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997).

[133] Johann Casimir to Maximilian II (Heidelberg, October 2, 1573), in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. Kluckhohn, vol. 2, 599–601.

[134] Maximilian II to Johann Casimir (Vienna, November 3, 1573), in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. Kluckhohn, vol. 2, 603–604.

[135] Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 70–71.

[136] Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660*, 16–18.

[137] Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 52–54.

succeeded because the majority of Protestants claimed that the Palatinate was threatening to destroy the peace within the Empire.[138] However, these same Protestants also held confessionalized political views. For example, in 1567 Saxony and Württemberg refused to participate with the Palatinate on an ambassadorial mission to the Governess of the Spanish Netherlands, Margarete of Parma, to protect persecuted Calvinists. That same year they would not support petitions to Philipp II, Maximilian II, and Catherine de Medici. They abstained on both occasions because Frederick III would not agree with them on the Lutheran position regarding the Eucharist.[139]

Frederick III and many other Calvinists in the Empire were convinced that Turkish threats, famines, plagues, and increase in prices were signs of God's wrath for the continued tolerance of Catholic "idolatry" in the Empire.[140] In 1563, the same year that Frederick III began enforcing Calvinist confessionalization in his territories, he wrote a letter to his son-in-law, Duke Johann Wilhelm of Saxe-Weimar, expressing his belief that the pope wanted to begin a "blood bath" in the Empire and that the present plague was a warning from God that he would punish the Empire.[141] In another letter written a few months later, Frederick III told Johann Wilhelm that although the Gospel was being preached, the Empire was still not reformed and divine wrath was coming.[142] In a prophetical manner, Frederick III in his last testament also offered a monition to the electoral princes in the Empire that reflected an apocalyptic outlook: "In these last dangerous times" the Turks, as the scourge of God, would visit the Empire for tolerating popery and idolatry, and the longer it was tolerated, the "nearer the end of the world approaches."[143] By invoking the Turks as an instrument for divine wrath in making an appeal to unity, he was expressing a fear not uncommon in the Empire, especially during the rule of Suleiman the Magnificent (r. 1520–1566).[144]

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[138] Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660*, 3.

[139] Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 65.

[140] Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660*, 7.

[141] Friedrich III to Johann Wilhelm (Lorbach, December 26, 1563), in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhohn, vol. 1, 477–478.

[142] Friedrich III to Johann Wilhelm (Lorbach, February 9, 1564), in *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürst von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhohn, vol. 1, 486.

[143] Friedrich III, *Das Testament Friedrichs des Frommen, Churfürsten von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhon, 95–96, quote on p. 95.

[144] John Bohnstedt, *The Infidel Scourge of God: The Turkish Menace as Seen by German Pamphleteers of the Reformation Era* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1968).

One of Frederick III's theologians, Zacharias Ursinus from Breslau, frequently criticized the Palatinate's militant policies on the theological grounds of predestination: God has allowed wars and persecutions, and one could not change that.[145] In 1568, he also expressed his concern that military intervention was not justifiable, especially if the primary motive was to increase the prestige of Casimir. However, even Ursinus believed that there were times that Frederick III's intervention in behalf of fellow Calvinists was necessary in the Empire. In 1568, he defended Frederick III's actions by claiming that Frederick III was not only a Josiah restoring the "true" church, but that like Joshua, Gideon, and the Maccabees of old, he was obligated at times to defend the righteous with the sword against invaders. He stated that spiritual weapons were preferable, but the Elector had no choice since the Emperor would not intervene in their behalf. [146]

Kaspar Schoppe, one of the foremost humanist apologists for the Catholic and Habsburg cause in the Empire and critic of both Calvinists and Jesuits, was in a sense a product of Wittelsbach confessionalizing efforts. He had studied at the Calvinist *Pädagogium* in Amberg in the Upper Palatinate and later entered the University of Heidelberg, where the court advisor Marquard Freherr tutored him in law. However, later he transferred to the University of Ingolstadt and eventually converted to Catholicism.[147] In one tract, he defended the Habsburg Emperors' stance towards Calvinists in the Empire by using some of the same biblical examples used by Ursinus: Joshua and Gideon. He also evoked the images of the Christian Emperors Theodosius and Justinian, as well as Charlemagne, who did their best to stamp out heresy in their realms and prevent disorder. Likewise, if the Habsburg Emperors did not follow their examples, then the consequences for the Empire would be similar to the Visigoths in Spain who were punished by the Saracens.[148] In another tract, he also referred to Calvinist rulers as new wicked

[145] Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660*, 8.

[146] Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 72.

[147] Hugo Altmann, "Kaspar Schoppe," in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchlexikon*, vol. 18, 1261–1297; see also Herbert Jaumann, *Kaspar Schoppe (1567–1649). Philologe im Dienste der Gegenreformation. Beiträge zur Gelehrtenkultur des europäischen Späthumanismus* (Frankfurt: Vittorio Klostermann, 1998).

[148] Gaspar Scioppi, *Consilivm Regivm in qvo a duodecim Regibus & Imperatoribus Catholico Hifpaniarum Regi demonftratur, quibus modis omnia bella feliciter profligare poffit* (Pavia, 1619), 5–23. Rare book. Rare Books and Special Collections, Firestone Library, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ.

King Ahabs.[149] Both Schoppe and Ursinus were speaking essentially the same language rooted in the mirror of prince literature dating back to the Carolingian Renaissance. The only difference was their definition of heresy in the confessional age.

Frederick III's successor, Ludwig VI, engaged in a conservative foreign policy that also revealed his concerns about fiscal security.[150] Still, his self-perception as a defender of the Lutheran faith led him in 1582 to present grievances at the Imperial Diet against what he considered Catholic oppression against Protestants within the Empire.[151] One such occurrence was the Cologne War (1583–8). In 1583, the Archbishop of Cologne openly converted to Protestantism. If he had been permitted to retain this title, then it would have been a momentous occasion for the Empire since it would have given the Protestants their very first electoral dominance because of the Archbishop of Cologne's status as one of the seven electors. Catholics argued that he had to renounce his office according to the "Ecclesiastical Reservation," (*reservatum ecclesiasticum*) added to the Peace of Augsburg. The "Ecclesiastical Reservation" stated that if an ecclesiastical ruler converted to Protestantism, he had to abdicate so that he could not change the religion of his subjects. However, because the Protestants opposed it, the "Ecclesiastical Reservation" became part of the Peace of Augsburg by Imperial authority alone. Since an Imperial Diet never voted on it, the legality of this action was open to dispute. The dispute in Cologne led to armed conflict when Wilhelm V sent Bavarian and Spanish troops into Cologne to oust the former Archbishop and replace him with Wilhelm's brother Ernst.[152] In 1584, Johann Casimir countered with an unsuccessful attempt to make the prince bishopric of Cologne into a Protestant territory.[153] The war lasted five years between the defenders of the convert (the Palatinate and the Dutch Republic) and those who supported Ernst of Bavaria as his successor (Bavaria and Spain).[154]

The Cologne War marked the first time that the Catholics were able to stop Protestants from taking over ecclesiastical lands. The Catholic

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[149] Gaspar Scioppi, *Classicvm belli sacri sive heldvs redivivvvs hoc est*…(Ticini, 1619), 24–25. Rare book. Rare Books and Special Collections, Firestone Library, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ.

[150] Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, 296.

[151] Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 80.

[152] Parker, *The Thirty Years War*, 19–20.

[153] Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660*, 4.

[154] Parker, *The Thirty Years War*, 19.

success inspired the publication of a treatise claiming that the Catholics were losing Germany because of their inertia. The anonymous document *De Autonomia* was first written in 1580 and then published in 1586 through the patronage of the Duke of Bavaria.[155] Although the Bavarian Wittelsbachs were not able to acquire the Palatine electoral title before the Thirty Years' War, they did manage to dominate the Cologne electoral title from 1583 to 1761. Nepotism was the critical factor. For example, Wilhelm V's sibling Ernst maintained the title from 1583 to 1612, and then his nephew Ferdinand succeeded him from 1612–1650.[156] Furthermore, the Palatine failure to oust Ernst of Wittelsbach meant a significant victory in the Palatine-Bavarian Wittelsbach dynastic dispute. The intimate association between religion and politics was also evident in the fact that Casimir financed his military expeditions for the Cologne War from an earlier church surplus.[157] In fact, Peter Canisius considered his efforts at Catholic confessionalization in Bavaria as countering the efforts of the Palatine Calvinists to spread Calvinism within the Empire.[158]

Wilhelm V lost no time in celebrating this triumph over his rivals during the Cologne War. In 1592, he commissioned the renowned sculptor Hubert Gerhard to make a bust of Wilhelm V dressed in armor with a Wittelsbach lion on his breast. The statue was originally located on the arch that connected the Jesuit College and the New Palace (Maxburg), where all could see the fusion between religion and politics in Bavaria. Furthermore, underneath Gerhard's statue of St. Michael in the St. Michael's Jesuit church were Wilhelm's coat of arms and the Golden Fleece collar that had been given to him in 1585 by King Philip II of Spain, a placement which further increased his connection as a defender of the faith. Likewise, the symbolism of St. Michael slaying the dragon facilitated the association between St. Michael's role and Wilhelm's defense against Protestant 'heresy' when he defended Cologne from a 'heretical' archbishop.[159]

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[155] Ibid., 20.

[156] von Lojewski, "Bayerns Kampf um Köln," 40–47; see also idem, *Bayerns Weg nach Köln. Geschichte der bayer. Bistumpolitik in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jh.s.* (Bonn: L. Röhrschied, 1962).

[157] Schaab, "Obrigkeitlicher Calvinismus und Genfer Gemeindemodell," 56.

[158] Schilling, *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society*, 221, 229.

[159] J.C. Smith, 57, 71, 68–69.

Following the death of Johann Casimir, the Calvinist Neo-Latin poet Paul Melissus wrote a memoriam for Casimir and an admonition for Frederick IV which favorably compared Casimir's efforts at defending the 'true' faith with those of his father Frederick III and his claimed ancestor, Charlemagne.[160] His memoriam also serves as a reminder that defending the faith could be done with the quill as easily as with the sword. Notker Hammerstein once remarked that the University of Heidelberg became a "Mecca" for scholarly challengers of papal claims.[161] Many of the university jurists argued for the defense of princely liberties, especially the court advisor Ludwig Camerarius.[162] Legal studies at the University of Heidelberg since the second half of the sixteenth century became famous for "legal humanism" that was closely connected with Palatine confessional politics. For example, during the regency disputes concerning Frederick IV and Frederick V (1594 and 1611), the University of Heidelberg published the Golden Bull of 1356 along with the first printed commentaries in order to defend the Calvinist cause in the Palatinate. The most famous representative of legal humanism among the theological faculty was David Pareus (1548–1622) from Silesia. Pareus wrote an extensive commentary (over 1300 pages) on the book of Romans in the Bible, in which he maintained that Romans 13 allowed for the right to resist papal "tyranny."[163] The harnessing of humanism to religion and politics also contributed to Palatine and Bavarian Wittelsbach intervention in several confessional disputes within the Empire.

From 1595 to 1618 there were approximately twenty cities in the Empire that experienced conflict between Lutherans and Catholics in the forms of riots or rebellion, but the most prominent was the Donauwörth Affair in 1606–7. Donauwörth was one of only seven other Imperial Free Cities where Lutherans and Catholics shared official toleration. However, Catholics in Donauwörth feared Lutheran resentment, and they toned down public processions before 1605. On St. Mark's Day in 1606, the Catholics attempted a full-scale procession, and Lutheran mobs beat the Catholic priests and took possession

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[160] Paul Melissus, *Memoriae illustrissimi herois d.n. Johannis Casimiri*…(n.p., 1592 [?]), appended Ode I. Rare book. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

[161] Hammerstein, "Vom 'Dritten Genf' zur Jesuiten-Universität," 39.

[162] Zwierlein, 72.

[163] Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 106–108.

of their relics and banners in order to mock them. Only a couple of months later, Father Laurence of Brindisi, a prominent Capuchin, visited the city and experienced mob intimidation. This encounter, along with complaints by clergy in the city, prompted Brindisi to request help from Emperor Rudolf II. When Brindisi arrived in Prague, the city was experiencing a serious plague, and he gave a sermon claiming that the cause of the plague was divine judgment because Protestants were tolerated in Donauwörth and elsewhere. Although this sermon offended many, including fellow Catholics, other circumstances prompted Maximilian of Bavaria to sympathize with Brindisi's concern over Donauwörth. Maximilian originally called Brindisi to Bavaria to perform exorcisms on his wife. Rudolf II sent an Imperial commission to Donauwörth to make sure that Catholics could hold their procession undisturbed on the next St. Mark's Day procession in 1607. However, despite the commission, a Lutheran throng gathered and intimidated the Catholic clergy and commission so that they didn't dare leave the monastery. The Donauwörth city magistrates were all Lutherans and did not lift a finger to protect the Catholics.[164]

With this open challenge to the Emperor, Rudolf II commissioned Maximilian of Bavaria to establish order. It was an illegal action because Donauwörth belonged to the Swabian Circle, not the Bavarian Circle, and so the Imperial Ban should have been executed by the Lutheran Duke of Württemberg. Another illegal activity followed in June of 1609 when the Emperor gave Donauwörth to Maximilian as a pledge for the cost of executing the ban. Maximilian then treated it as part of his territory and began enforcing Catholic confessionalization there. This even further exacerbated tensions between Protestants and Catholics within the Empire. Indeed, before the Donauwörth Affair, Count Palatine Philipp Ludwig of Neuburg, a Lutheran, had been more suspicious of his Calvinist Palatine relatives than he was of Maximilian.[165] Besides Philipp Ludwig of Neuburg, Maximilian's occupation of Donauwörth prompted other Lutherans, such as the Elector of Saxony, to support Palatine policies at the Diet of Regensburg 1608. They wanted more Protestant representation in the Imperial Supreme Court. But the Emperor, represented by Maximilian's cousin, Archduke Ferdinand, refused to budge. Rumors spread that Ferdinand and Maximilian were

[164] Parker, *The Thirty Years War*, 122–124.
[165] Ibid.; Kossol, *Die Reichspolitik des Pfalzgrafen Philipp Ludwig*, 167.

going to send armies to the Diet in order to enforce the Catholic position. What did happen was that in February 1608, Catholics in the Prince's college called for a motion that would bring about the restoration of all ecclesiastical territories seized by Protestants since 1552. It was intended as a bargaining chip for different concessions by the Protestants, but it backfired. In April the Palatine delegation sent a formal protest to Ferdinand and then left the Diet. In turn the delegates of Brandenburg, Ansbach, Kulmbach, Baden-Durlach, Hesse-Kassel and Württemberg did the same. Ferdinand was forced to "dissolve" the Diet. Nine days after, six of the prominent Protestant princes of the Empire (the Elector Palatine, Neuburg, Württemberg, Ansbach, Kulmbach and Baden-Durlach) made a mutual defense pact known as the Protestant Union.[166] Frederick IV of the Palatinate became the head of the Union, and one year later his Bavarian rival, Maximilian, led the establishment of a Catholic mutual defense pact, the Catholic League, that initially consisted of the Duke of Bavaria and the Prince-Bishops of Augsburg, Constance, Passau, Ratisbon and Würzburg.[167]

The unity of the Protestant Union manifested itself in the wedding of Johann Friedrich, Duke of Württemberg, and Barbara Sophia, sister of the Elector of Brandenburg, at Stuttgart in 1609. The wedding occasion was also a time for a "summit conference" between members of the Protestant Union. Seven months afterwards, most members met again at the wedding between Johann Georg, Margrave of Brandenburg (and the brother of Barbara Sophia) and Eva Christina, Duchess of Württemberg (and sister of Johann Friedrich), that took place in 1610 at Jägerndorf. Like the festival book celebrating Wilhelm V's marriage to Renata of Lorraine, most of the Protestant Union wedding festival books were exquisitely detailed publications that were able to spread as propaganda to a broader audience. Just as Wilhelm V's and Renata's wedding could serve both symbolic and practical purposes, so too the Protestant Union wedding festival tournament activities, such as the running of the ring, had both symbolic and military value for members of the Union.[168]

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[166] Parker, *The Thirty Years War*, 122–124.

[167] See also Axel Gotthard, "Protestantische 'Union' und Katholische 'Liga'-Subsidiäre Strukturelemente oder Alternativentwürfe?" in *Alternativen zur Reichsverfassung in der Frühen Neuzeit?*, ed. Volker Press (Munich, 1995), 81–112.

[168] Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, "The Protestant Union: Festivals, Festival Books, War and Politics," in *'Europa Triumphans': Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern*

The famous wedding between Elizabeth Stuart and Frederick IV's heir as elector and successor as head of the Protestant Union, Frederick V, was not the first time that Palatine marital diplomacy sought strength by marrying into a royal line outside of the Empire. In 1532, Elector Frederick II became disenchanted with the Habsburgs when his marriage plans to wed Maria of Habsburg, Queen of Hungary and sister of the Emperor, fell through. He rebounded by pursuing marital alliances with French and English princesses. His relationship improved with the Habsburgs only when Charles V managed to get Frederick II married to Charles's niece, Dorothea of Denmark. The marriage was celebrated in Heidelberg with considerable pomp. However, the rocky relationship with the Habsburgs continued as he became disappointed in their efforts to get him the Danish throne. In the end, this alienation made it easier for Frederick II to become the first Palatine elector to usher in the Protestant Reformation.[169]

The Palatinate had also made prominent attempts to create international alliances as a German Protestant power under Elector Frederick III, one between German Protestants and England in 1568, and another in 1572 with France, in order to counter the Habsburgs. Most often German Protestants resisted the militant approach of the Palatinate.[170] In 1577, Casimir attempted to unite all the Calvinist churches in the world with the same foreign policy. It did not work, but he did succeed in making an alliance of the German Protestants with the Union of Torgau.[171] This was also the Baroque beginning of the long-lasting 'Palatine Myth' that combined Elizabethan Protestant chivalry and Palatine identity.[172] The symbol of Elizabethan Protestant chivalry was Sir Philip Sidney, discussed in chapter two in conjunction with Anglo-Palatine literary exchanges.[173] The 'Palatine Myth' of

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Europe, eds., J.R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Margaret Shewing, vol. 2 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 15, 29–34.

[169] For Frederick II's dynastic ambitions and relationship with the Habsburgs, see Hubert Leodis, *Der Reichsfürst und sein Kaiser: Eine Lebensbeschreibung des Pfalzgrafen Friedrich II. (1482–1556)*, translated with commentary by Herbert Rädle (Neumarkt: Historischer Verein für Neumarkt, 1998).

[170] Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660*, 5.

[171] Ibid., 20; see also Jill Raitt, "Elizabeth of England, John Casimir, and the Protestant League," in *Controversy and Conciliation: The Reformation and the Palatinate, 1559–1583*, ed. Derk Visser, 117–145.

[172] Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 24–25.

[173] See ch. 2; see also Richard McCoy, "Sir Philip Sidney and Elizabethan Chivalry," in *Sir Philip Sidney's Achievement*, ed. Michael Allen (New York: A.M.S. Press, 1990),

conquering heroes and martyrs was also a product of English literary propaganda transferring English Protestant hopes onto Frederick V following the unexpected death of Henry Stuart.[174] Indeed, many English Protestants also hoped that Elizabeth Stuart would revive the glory of England associated with her namesake, Elizabeth I.[175]

This transfer occurred just before the wedding of Frederick V and Elizabeth Stuart in 1613. Henry Stuart had been the firstborn of James I and seemed more inclined to militant Protestantism and its anti-Habsburg stance than his father. The unusually high outpouring of literary works with foreign translations for Frederick and Elizabeth's wedding testifies to its international significance for Calvinists across Europe.[176]

For instance, the preacher Robert Allyne composed a piece for the wedding in which he compared Elizabeth to "A light, a starre, a fire, that shall consume and dim the adulterate light of Spanish Rome."[177] Allyne also expressed his high political expectations for Frederick as a "Great off-spring of a high Imperiall race," whose electoral title should be a stepping-stone for greater things:

> Great Caesar-Maker, thou whose powerful vote
> Can raise a subject to the Imperiall height;
> Thou canst make Emperours, and hast thou not

32–41; Simon Groenveld, "In the Course of his God and True Religion: Sidney and the Dutch Revolt," in *Sir Philip Sidney's Achievement*, ed. Allen, 57–67.

[174] Jaroslav Miller, *Falcký Mýtus. Fridrich V. a obraz české války v raně stuartovské Anglii* (Prague: Argo, 2004); id., "From Conquerors to Martyrs: Protestant Propaganda and the Palatine Myth in Early Stuart England," *Acta Comeniana* 17 (2003): 73–97; Hans Werner, "*The Hector of Germanie, or the Palsgrave, Prime Elector* and Anglo-German Relations of Early Stuart England: The View from the Popular Stage," in *The Stuart Court and Europe. Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. R. Malcum Smuts, 113–132 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 124.

[175] John Watkins, *Representing Elizabeth in Stuart England: Literature, History, and Sovereignty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 33–34.

[176] Miller, "From Conquerors to Martyrs," 75–76; George Gomori, "'A Memorable Wedding': The Literary Reception of the Wedding of the Princess Elizabeth and Frederick of Pfalz," *Journal of European Studies* 34 (2004): 215–224; Jochen Goetze, "Traumpaar der Reformierten: Friederich V. und Elizabeth Stuart," in *Liselotte von der Pfalz. Madame am Hofe des Sonnenkönigs*, ed. Sigrun Paas and Adda Alexander (Heidelberg: HVA, 1996), 1–5; Götz Schmitz, "Die Hochzeit von Themse und Rhein. Gelegenheitsschriften zur Brautfahrt des Kurfürsten Friedrich V. von der Pfalz,"*Daphnis* 22 (1993): 265–309.

[177] Robert Allyne, *Teares of ioy shed at the happy departure from Great Britaine, of the two paragons of the Christian world. Fredericke and Elizabeth, Prince, and Princesse Palatines of Rhine Duke and Dutches of Bauaria*… (London, 1613), 1. Rare book. Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com [accessed December 10, 2004].

> In creating an Empress equall might?
> Express it then vpon thy better halfe,
> And in advancing her, raise vp thy selfe.
> That both together gracing Casars chaire,
> Thy sonne may bee arch-sewer to his sire.[178]

Likewise, a number of *Epithalamia* collectively written by affiliates with Oxford University contain references to the revival of Henry Stuart and anti-papal sentiment. For example, one poem stated that Rome and the Jesuits ought to fear this union and the revival of Henry Stuart, and another expressed the hope that Frederick and Elizabeth would produce "many Henrys."[179] Furthermore, the poet George Wither in his commemorative work for the wedding made a confessionalized humanist comparison connecting Frederick and Elizabeth's future progeny with Achilles who would challenge papal Rome:

> We hope, that this will the vniting prove,
> Of countries, and of nations by your love.
> And that from out your blessed loynes, shall come;
> Another terror to the Whore of Rome;
> And such a stout Achilles as shall make,
> Her tottering walls, and weake foundation shake.[180]

In the nuptial literature, there are not only numerous example of this transference of English Protestant hopes onto Frederick and Elizabeth, but also the same type of transference of Israelite identity among English Protestants, especially Puritans in England and America, already discussed with French and Dutch Calvinists.[181] Also, like the Huguenots

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[178] Ibid., 2.

[179] University of Oxford, *Epithalamia. Sive Ivsus Palatini in nvptias Celsissimi Principis Domini Friderici Comitis Palatini ad Rhenvm, &c. et Serenissimae Elisabethae Iacobi Potetissimi Brittaniae Regis filiae promogenitae* (Oxford, 1613), 4, 12. Rare book. Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com [accessed December 10, 2004].

[180] George Wither, *Epithalamia: or Nuptiall poems vpon the most blessed and happie marriage betweene the high and mightie Prince Frederick the fifth…and the most virtuous, gracious and thrice excellent Princesse, Elizabeth…*(London, 1613), 8. Rare book. Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com [accessed December 10, 2004].

[181] Michael McGiffert, "God's Controversy with Jacobean England," *American Historical Review* 88 (1983): 1151–1174; Blair Worden, "Providence and Politics in Cromwellian England," *Past and Present* 109 (1985): 55–59; for English Puritan's associations with ancient Israel, see for example, Mason I. Lowance Jr. *The Language of Canaan: Metaphor and Symbol in New England from the Puritans to the Transcendentalists* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980); Reiner Smolenski,

and the early Franks, there were early medieval precedents for associating the English with ancient Israel.[182] For example, the preacher George Webbe's dedicatory epistle to his occasional piece for the wedding makes several allusions to ancient Israel.[183] As in mirror of prince literature, Webbe admonished Frederick to follow the examples of virtue found among representatives of ancient Israel:

> That your Highnesse (right worthie prince) may be as Abraham, a Father of many nations, as Isaac a father of mighty kings, as Jacob, your seede may be in many waters; the eternal God multiply upon you the zeal of David; the wisdom of Salomon; the courage of Ioshua; the honour of Josiah…[184]

Likewise, Webbe encouraged a female version of virtuous examples from the Israelites for Elizabeth to imitate:

> The King of Heaven make your royall person like Sarah a Mother of many kings; like Rebecka a Mother of thousands of millions, whose seede may possesse the gates of their enemies; like Rachel and Leah, which two did build up the house of Israel. The God of peace encrease more and more in your sacred soule the devotion of Hannah, the holiness of Hulda, the wisdome of Abigail, the charitie of Hester, the magnaminitie of Iudith, and the dignitie of Deborah.[185]

Webbe concludes this portion by connecting Elizabeth with the Elizabethan age by telling her to use Elizabeth I as a model for good rule.[186]

Reflecting the union between religion and politics, the Palatine court used the surplus of church property to finance much of the

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"Israel Redivivius: The Eschatalogical Limits of Puritan Typology in New England," *The New England Quarterly* 63 (1990): 357–395.

[182] Nicholas Howe, *Migration and Myth Making in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

[183] George Webbe, *The bride royall, or the spirituall marriage betweene Christ and his Church. Deliuered by way of congratulation vpon the happy and hopefull marriage betweene the two incomparable princes, the Palsgraue, and the Ladie Elizabeth…* (London, 1613). Rare book. Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com [accessed December 10 2004]; Webbe also earlier made the association with England and Israel in his work *God's controversy with England. Or a description of the fearefull and lamentable estate which this land at this present is in.…* (London, 1609). Rare book. Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com [accessed December 10 2004].

[184] Webbe, *The bride royall*, 5.

[185] Webbe, *The bride royall*, 6.

[186] Ibid.

wedding celebrations.[187] In England, Frederick V became a member of the prestigious Order of the Garter that represented a late medieval fraternity similar to the Habsburg sponsored Order of the Golden Fleece. Symbolically threatening to the Habsburgs and Bavarian Wittelsbachs, at the tournaments held for the Palatine wedding in Heidelberg, Frederick V was presented as Jason the Argonaut who captured the Golden Fleece. Also, Johann Friedrich of Württemberg had himself portrayed as Ariovistus, the ancient King of the Swabians, "Conqueror of the Gauls and Terror of the Romans," accompanied by horsemen representing the Danube, the Neckar, and the Black Forest. The symbolism was an allusion to the Donauwörth Affair because Donauwörth was located on the Danube in Swabia.[188]

The wedding between Frederick V and Elizabeth Stuart was not the only wedding that made the year 1613 a watershed year for confessional wedding diplomacy among the Wittelsbachs. In that year, Count Palatine Wolfgang Wilhelm of Neuburg converted to Catholicism and married Magdalena of Bavaria, the sister of Duke Maximilian of Bavaria. Thus, although the Palatine Wittelsbachs succeeded in marrying into a Protestant royal dynasty, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs managed to exploit the confessional alienation between the Calvinist main branch of the Palatinate and the Lutheran cadet branch at Neuburg in order to bring Neuburg into the Bavarian circle. It was also the same year that the Elector of Brandenburg, Johann Sigismund, converted to Calvinism. Besides the influence of the Heidelberg theologians David Pareus and Abraham Scultetus, a critical player in this conversion was Louise-Juliana, consort of Frederick IV, who first became acquainted with Johann Sigismund when he and his brother visited the Heidelberg court as youths.[189] Indeed, his conversion was itself part of larger dispute known as the Jülich-Cleves Affair that made the importance of females salient in the political arena at the time.[190]

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[187] Schaab, "Obrigkeitlicher Calvinismus und Genfer Gemeindemodell," 56.

[188] Watanabe-O'Kelly, "The Protestant Union: Festivals, Festival Books, War and Politics," 23; for the late medieval origins of both the Order of the Garter and the Golden Fleece, see also Hugh Collins, *The Order of the Garter 1348–1461. Chivalry and Politics in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000) and D'A. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown. The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325–1520* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987).

[189] Bodo Nischan, *Prince, People, and Confession. The Second Reformation in Brandenburg* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 81.

[190] Magdalena Drexl, *Weiberfeinde-Weiberfreunde? Die Querelle des femmes im Kontext konfessioneller Konflikte um 1600* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2006), 256.

A succession dispute erupted in 1609 after the death of the last male heir, the Catholic Johann Wilhelm, Duke of Cleves-Jülich and Berg. Not only Palatinate-Neuburg and Palatinate-Zweibrücken, but also Electoral Brandenburg and Electoral Saxony made claims for the Jülich-Cleve inheritance based off female inheritance rights.[191] The Jülich Estates were composed mostly of Catholics, and the others were primarily made up of Lutherans and Calvinists. The two major claimants were Lutheran, Elector Johann Sigismund of Brandenburg and Count Palatine Philipp-Ludwig of Neuburg. The duchess was Antoinette of Lorraine, and she and the Jülich Estates did not want a Protestant succession. Her Bavarian Wittelsbach relative, the Elector of Cologne, promised assistance, and so later did Philip II of Spain.[192] The Cleves-Jülich region was especially important for the Spanish Army of Flanders because its geographical location situated it between areas controlled by Spain and the Dutch.[193] The Dutch and the Palatinate feared Spanish influence in the region, but because of the strained relations with the Lutheran cadet branch of Neuburg, the Palatinate favored the Brandenburg candidate.[194] Indeed, before the marriage of Frederick V and Elizabeth Stuart and Wolfgang Wilhelm's conversion to Catholicism, Count Palatine Philipp Ludwig of Neuburg, had actually attempted to arrange a marriage between his heir Wolfgang Wilhelm and Elizabeth Stuart in order to counter Heidelberg's influence.[195]

An important element in the timing of the Elector of Brandenburg's conversion to Calvinism was the opportunity to gain support from the Palatinate for his claims to the Jülich-Cleve-Berg inheritance. The marriage between Johann Sigismund's son, Georg Wilhelm, and Frederick V's sister, Elisabeth, in 1614 confirmed the closer ties to the Palatinate.[196] However, religious scruples were just as significant as political calculation for Johann Sigismund's conversion to Calvinism. The roots of his conversion date back to his earlier experiences at the confessionalized Heidelberg court and university.[197] Likewise, the tim-

[191] Ibid., 246–249.
[192] Parker, *The Thirty Years War*, 26.
[193] Id., *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567–1659*, 252.
[194] Id., *The Thirty Years War*, 26.
[195] Rüde, 129.
[196] Ibid., 32–33.
[197] Cohn, "The Territorial Princes in Germany's Second Reformation, 1559–1622," 147–148; see also W. Delius, "Der Konfessionswechsel des brandenburgischen

ing of Count Palatine Wolfgang Wilhelm's conversion to Catholicism and marriage to Maximilian's sister in 1613 was a product of both personal conviction and political calculation.[198] Indeed, just after Wolfgang Wilhelm publicly converted to Catholicism, Pope Paul V wrote a letter to Maximilian I praising all the extensive preparatory efforts that Maximilian put forth preceding the conversion.[199] A year later (1614), Wolfgang Wilhelm sent a letter to Cardinal Scipio Borghese requesting financial assistance so that he could better defend Catholicism against his enemies.[200] The same year, Ambrosio Spinola brought the Army of Flanders into Cleves and occupied most of it before the Elector of Brandenburg was able to counter with enough assistance from the Dutch Republic.[201]

1614 was also the year that Frederick V made the unusual move of composing his last testament when he was only 18 years old. The primary focus of the testament was the same as his father's: preserve the Calvinist confessional state in the Palatinate. Like his father, he designated Johann II of Zweibrücken as guardian in case he died, in order to prevent the newly converted Catholic Wolfgang Wilhelm from having an opportunity of claiming the right as regent, an act which had the potential of bringing the main Palatine branch into the Bavarian orbit. The executors of the testament were King James I and Charles I (Prince of Wales). The Protestant Union and the Dutch States General were to ensure that the testament was followed.[202] Frederick V's last testament was also a testament of the power of confessional marriage diplomacy. It underscores how years of confessional division had

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Kurfürsten Johann Sigismund," *Jahrbuch für berlin-brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte* 50 (1975/7): 125–126.

[198] See Hans Schmidt, "Pfalz-Neuburgs Sprung zum Niederrhein. Wolfgang Wilhelm von Pfalz-Neuburg und der Jülich-Klevische Erbfolgestreit," in *Um Glauben und Reich*, ed. H. Glaser, 77–88; Hermann Josef Roggendorf, "Die Politik der Pfalzgrafen von Neuburg im Jülich-Klevischen Erbfolgstreit." *Düsseldorfer Jahrbuch* 53 (1968): 1–211; Krieger, "Bayerisch-pfalzische Unionsbestrebungen," 400; Alison Anderson, "The Jülich-Kleve Succession Crisis (1609–1620): A Study in International Relations" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, 1992).

[199] Paul V to Maximilian I (Rome, August 17, 1613), in *Die Korrespondenz Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg mit der römischen Kurie*, ed. Hermine Kühn-Steinhausen (Cologne: K. Schroeder, 1937), 177.

[200] Wolfgang Wilhelm to Scipio Borghese (Duesseldorf, June 5, 1614), in *Die Korrespondenz Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg mit der römischen Kurie*, ed. H. Kühn-Steinhausen, 177.

[201] Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567–1659*, 252.

[202] Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, 507–508.

crippled solidarity between the main Palatine line and the Neuburg cadet line. It also demonstrates that confessional marriage alliances with international dynasties could forge deeper bonds than traditional family ties in this age. On the other hand, the conversion of Wolfgang Wilhelm to Catholicism and his marriage with Maximilian's sister also indicate the power of confessional marriage diplomacy to reunite family ties that had long been loosened.

The Neuburg-Bavarian marriage contract emphasized that it was a holy union demonstrating that the Catholic Wittelsbachs were the legitimate dynastic defenders of the faith.[203] Evidence of Maximilian of Bavaria's growing confidence in his confessional marriage diplomacy can be found in a letter that he wrote to his brother Ferdinand, the Archbishop of Cologne. In this correspondence, Maximilian actually discussed at least the possibility of converting Frederick V to Catholicism.[204] Maximilian wrote this letter in 1618, but 1618 became a watershed year for a different reason. It was the year that the Bohemian Estates rebelled against Maximilian's close relative, Ferdinand II of the House of Habsburg, and offered the golden crown of Bohemia to Frederick V. Frederick's acceptance actualized what earlier had been a symbolic challenge alluded to at the wedding festivities for Frederick and Elizabeth, when Frederick was depicted as Jason the Argonaut snatching the Golden Fleece. The next chapter illuminates how confessionalized dynastic politics, confessionalized Renaissance humanism, and late medieval legacies brought Frederick V the Bohemian crown.

[203] "Bayerisch-Neuburgischer Heiratskontrakt" (October 2, 1613), in *Die Reichspolitik Maximilians I. von Bayern 1613–1618. vol. 12. Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges in den Zeiten des vorwaltenden Einflusses der Wittelsbacher*, ed. Hugo Altmann (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1978), 343.

[204] Maximilian I to Ferdinand (April 17, 1618), in *Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges in den Zeiten des vorwaltenden Einflusses der Wittelsbacher*, ed. H. Altmann, 489.

CHAPTER FIVE

A WINTER'S TALE: THE "WINTER KING" AND THE COURT AT PRAGUE

It is important to recognize the role of dynastic ambitions in contextualizing many of the political events of early modern Europe, and certainly the Thirty Years' War is one of those events.[1] The internal dynastic rivalry between the Bavarian and Palatine branches of the Wittelsbach dynasty had stoked confessional divisions, culminating in Frederick V of the Palatinate as head of the Protestant Union and Maximilian I as the head of the Catholic League.[2] However, like many other dynastic rulers, Frederick and Maximilian were themselves both patrons and products of a notion of rulership shaped by the confessionalization of Renaissance humanism.[3] In this sense, dynastic ambition could easily lead to situations similar to the "Sun King" Louis XIV, whose grandiose sense of self was not just inherent egotism, but also a product of his educational upbringing.[4]

In the case of Frederick, there was also a kaleidoscope of competing confessionalized visions of rulership rooted in the late Middle Ages that became connected with him through the confessionalization of Renaissance humanism. They only increased in intensity when he accepted the Bohemian crown. Frederick was not able to satisfy the competing demands of these diverse conceptions of rulership. These included the expectations that he become the reincarnation of his brother-in-law as the leader of English Protestant chivalry,

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[1] Johannes Burckhardt, „Der Dreißigjährige Krieg als frühmoderner Staatsbildungskrieg," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 45 (1994): 487–99; see also Richard Bonney, *The European Dynastic States, 1494–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

[2] See ch. 4; Volker Press, "Bayerns wittelsbachische Gegenspieler-Die Heidelberger Kurfürsten 1505–1685," in *Um Glauben und Reich*, ed. H. Glaser, 24–39; Albrecht, *Maximilian I. von Bayern 1573–1651*, 578; Ronald G. Asch, *The Thirty Years War: the Holy Roman Empire and Europe, 1618–1648* (London: Macmillan Press, 1997), 22–23; Eberhard Weis, "Das Haus Wittelsbach in der europäischen Politik der Neuzeit," *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 44 (1981): 218–223.

[3] See ch. 1.

[4] John B. Wolf, *Louis XIV* (New York: Norton, 1968).

alchemists' anticipated prophet Elias, an equally eschatologically expected Protestant lion, a Calvinist Josiah, a two-eyed embodiment of a one-eyed Hussite warlord, as well as a Protestant version of the Emperor and King of Bohemia, Charles IV. All of these identities had medieval roots and contributed not only to Frederick's ability to obtain the Bohemian crown, but also to lose it.

As the historian Norman Housley notes, an important factor in facilitating the turning of religious differences into religious wars in the early modern era has to do with their late medieval inheritance:

> The European Wars of Religion did not simply develop from the accentuation of the confessional divide or even from the crystallization of the various groups into 'faith communities' nourishing separate and irreconcilable histories, identities, and agendas. They resulted from the fact that these communities could draw, organically and with comparatively little effort, on a range of ideas, interpretations, leadership roles, and patterns of group behaviour which had evolved seamlessly from the late Middle Ages.[5]

This chapter will discuss how this medieval inheritance affected Frederick V's rule in Bohemia by examining Wittelsbach dynastic ambitions in their confessional setting, and the attempt by the Bohemian Estates, as well as others, to use religion as a source of legitimacy for Frederick and Elizabeth as a non-indigenous dynasty in Bohemia.

Frederick's behavior in Bohemia was consistent with the concept of confessionalization because his sense of dynastic legitimacy was predicated on the notion that he was a defender of the 'true faith,' just as it was for his Wittelsbach cousin Maximilian I and the Emperor Ferdinand II. As discussed in chapter one, the Peace of Augsburg revived the Wittelsbach roles as defenders of the faith that their medieval ancestors had played as emperors and kings in the late Middle Ages.[6] For Frederick this evolved into the 'Palatine Myth' which meant an inherited commitment to defend his territories against Habsburg Catholic 'tyranny.'[7] Thus, despite common goals of harnessing religion

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[5] Norman Housley, *Religious Warfare in Europe, 1400–1536* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 204.

[6] See ch. 1.

[7] See ch. 4; Winfried Schulze, "Kaiserliches Amt, Reichsverfassung und protestantische Union," in *Reichsständische Libertät und Habsburgisches Kaisertum*, eds., Heinz Duchhardt and Matthias Schnettger (Mainz: Verlag Phillip von Zabern, 1999), 202.

to the service of the early modern dynastic state in the process of confessionalization, the concept of defender of the faith easily lead into an intense struggle between confessionalized states that increased dramatically since the 1580s in the Empire.[8] Indeed, Frederick's actions in Bohemia reflect Wittelsbach ambition within their role as Calvinist versions of King Josiah from the Bible.[9] Because of the political, social, economic, and religious tensions across Europe at this time, there was a common fear that a major war would not only sweep the Empire, but all of Europe by the time Frederick V challenged Ferdinand II for the Bohemian throne.[10]

What allowed Frederick, a Calvinist, to participate in a religious league devoted to the defense of both Calvinists and Lutherans were the religious commonalities between Melanchtonian Lutheranism and the need of Calvinists for legal recognition since they were not under the umbrella of the Peace of Augsburg.[11] Likewise, as the historian Euan Cameron states "Lutheran anti-Calvinism should be seen as relative rather than absolute: hatred of Calvinism diminished as fear of Catholicism increased."[12] Furthermore, Frederick's later willingness to cooperate with Catholics and even Muslim Turks reflected his own sense of dynastic expediency that he could rationalize because he was defending his territories and his religion from the Catholic 'tyranny' of the Habsburgs.[13] Indeed, first Lutherans in the Empire, and later Calvinists in Transylvania, knew that the Turks could be a 'blessing' against Habsburg hegemony.[14] The fear of the Habsburgs also explains why *politiques* in Catholic France and the Venetian Republic would be willing to either support or at least consider helping Protestants

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[8] Thomas A. Brady, Jr., *Communities, Politics and Reformation in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), 378; for the Palatinate in particular see Rüde, *England und Kurpfalz im werdenden Mächteeuropa*, 166.

[9] Murdock, "The Importance of being Josiah," 156; see also ch. 3.

[10] Parker, *The Thirty Years War*, 12.

[11] See ch. 4.

[12] Euan Cameron, "One Reformation or many? Protestant Identities in the Later Reformation in Germany," in *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, eds. Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 126.

[13] See Harald Braun and Edward Vallance, eds., *Contexts of Conscience in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1700* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

[14] Winfried Schulze, *Reich und Türkengefahr im späten 16. Jahrhundert. Studien zu den politischen und gesellschaftlichen Auswirkungen einer äußeren Bedrohung* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1978).

during the Thirty Years' War.[15] This and the following chapter demonstrate that what happened in Bohemia under Frederick's rule was not unusual in this era: toleration was usually preached by those who needed it, but once in power they often attempted to enforce their own sense of orthodoxy.[16]

In about 1598 one of the most important theologians for Frederick IV and Frederick V arrived from the Bohemian crown land of Silesia in the person of David Wängler of Silesia, known as Pareus; both he and the fellow Silesian, Zacharias Ursinus, were very influential on a generation of Palatine pastors. However, the most influential theologian for Frederick IV and Frederick V was another Silesian, the fiery Calvinist Abraham Scultetus, who served as a court preacher.[17] In fact, Abraham Scultetus was also an influential figure for Calvinists in Hungary who resented Habsburg rule.[18] In the 1570s approximately half of the foreign students at the University of Heidelberg were French or Walloon. However, in the decade before the Thirty Years' War, the number of Eastern Europeans rose considerably. This transition reflected a gradual shift in Palatine foreign policy.[19] The Palatine court advisor Christian von Anhalt had been following events in Bohemia for years. Since 1606 he had been in correspondence with Peter Wok von Rosenberg and Erasmus von Tschernembel, the Calvinist leaders of the Bohemian and Austrian Estates.[20]

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[15] Robert Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: Kings, Courts, and Confessors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Wolfgang Behringer, "'Politiker' und 'Zelanten.' Zur Typologie innenpolitischer Konflikte in der Frühen Neuzeit," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 22 (1995): 455–494; William J. Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty. Renaissance Values in the Age of the CounterReformation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).

[16] Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner, eds., *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); for intolerance as a religious norm derived from a sense of duty, see also Brad Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 78–96, 346–347.

[17] Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, 507–514.

[18] Graeme Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier 1600–1660: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 56.

[19] Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660*, 37–39; Armin Kohnle, "Die Universität Heidelberg als Zentrum des reformierten Protestantismus im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert," in *Die ungarische Universitätsbildung und Europa*, eds. Szögi László and Márta Font (Pécs: University of Pécs, 2001), 141–161.

[20] Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660*, 23.

The Jülich-Cleves Crisis had an important impact on tightening the political bonds between the Protestant Union and the Bohemian Estates. When the Spanish commander Ambrosio Spinola invaded Jülich, he was also given an imperial commission to restore the Catholic magistracy of Aachen, an event which further confirmed Palatine fears of a Habsburg conspiracy within the Empire. Anhalt even once commented that he would rather have a Turk or the Devil be chosen as emperor than Ferdinand II of Habsburg. In Anhalt's desire to divide the Catholic Electors, Anhalt and company actually promoted the candidacy of Maximilian of Bavaria. From 1616–1618 there were discussions between Munich and Heidelberg. At the same time Anhalt moved to encourage dissension within the Habsburg Monarchy. Dohna and Camerarius went to Prague in the winter of 1616–1617 to further strengthen their connections with Bohemian Protestants. They also shored up their connections with the Protestant Estates of Austria.[21] In fact, their promotion of Maximilian of Bavaria had nothing to do with Wittelsbach dynastic solidarity. It was perfectly consistent with Palatine policy since 1562, when Frederick III had attempted to prevent the election of the Habsburg Emperor Maximilian II.[22] Thus, when the Bohemian Estates rebelled against Ferdinand II, it was neither a surprise that the Estates offered the crown to Frederick V, nor that he accepted it. The surprise occurred when Frederick V and the Bohemian Estates discovered that they had different expectations of what it meant to be King of Bohemia.

The cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz wrote an article on the "symbolics of power" that emphasized how intimately related the display and actual possession of regal power could manifest themselves in political rituals. One of these rituals was the royal progress:

> When kings journey around the countryside, making appearances, attending fêtes, conferring honors, exchanging gifts, or defying rivals, they mark it, like some wolf or tiger spreading his scent through his territory, as almost physically apart of them.[23]

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[21] Parker, *The Thirty Years War*, 36–37.

[22] See ch. 4; Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 52–54.

[23] Clifford Geertz, "Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power," in *Rites of Power. Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics since the Middle Ages*, ed. Sean Wilentz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 13–40, quote on page 16.

The royal progresses of Frederick V, first to Prague for the coronation ceremony and then later to the rest of the Bohemian crown lands, reveal the rise and fall, as well as tenuous nature, of Frederick's quest for dynastic legitimacy. First to be discussed is the royal progress to Prague, and in the next chapter this will be compared with his progress to the other Bohemian crown lands.

To a certain degree Frederick did use traditional measures to symbolically possess the land during his progress to Prague. For example, when he entered the Little Quarter (*Malá Strana*) of Prague he was accompanied by 152 knights in a livery displaying Wittelsbach colors of blue and white.[24] Besides this visual display, the audio display of trumpets and drums accompanied him throughout the city.[25] Another way he marked his new territory was on the carnet, an official pass required for crossing borders, which displayed his new royal coat of arms with a Latin inscription identifying it with the King of Bohemia.[26] Likewise, Frederick incorporated into his new coat of arms the symbols of the different crown lands of Bohemia.[27] Fortunately for Frederick, it was a rather easy transition to turn the Wittelsbach lion into the Bohemian lion because he just needed to add an extra tail. Perhaps what was most salient for Bohemians was the fact that on the coat of arms the crown rested upon a shield draped with the insignia of the Order of the Garter which connected Frederick with English chivalric heritage.[28] Indeed, as will be discussed later in this chapter, both the symbol of the lion and the Order of the Garter would serve to associate Frederick with the aspirations of English and continental supporters, who hoped he would be far more than simply King of Bohemia. During the next few days after his arrival in Prague, Frederick had himself crowned King of Bohemia and marked his territory in a Geertzian sense: he replaced all the Habsburg heraldic symbols in Prague with the new Bohemian-Palatine coat of arms.[29]

Despite the time-honored rituals mentioned above for possessing the land, there were also important innovations. The historian Philippe Buc stresses the importance of recognizing that there are both conti-

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[24] Pavel Skála ze Zhoře, *Historie çeská. Od Defenestrace k Bílé Hoře*, ed. Josef Janácek (Prague: Svoboda, 1984), 205.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Theodor Wilckens, "Das Wappen des Kurfürsten Friedrich V. als König von Bohmen," *Mannheimer Geschichtsblatter* 13 (1912): 116.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, 74.

nuities and differences between medieval and early modern understanding of rituals.[30] For example, in the ceremonies associated with the crowning of the Elector of Brandenburg in 1701, there were both genuine continuities in rituals, but also "conscious reinventions of tradition."[31] This was exactly what happened with the royal progress and the coronation ceremony for Frederick V. However, in contrast to the Elector of Brandenburg's coronation ceremonies, Frederick had little idea of the actual manipulation of ceremonial rituals associated with his royal progress towards Prague. For example, although the trek from the convent of Waldsask to Prague should be a short one, it was intentionally lengthened during Frederick and Elizabeth's progress, because the leaders of the Bohemian Estates, the Directors, took advantage of the opportunity: it lasted longer because they made frequent stops at the estates of prominent Directors to increase the prestige of these individual Directors.[32]

During this progress, the Directors also intentionally had Frederick visit a city long associated with Hussite tradition, Loun. According to Taborite Hussite tradition, this city was one of the few that would endure to the end of the world. Apparently, Frederick was unaware during the progress that he was being associated with chiliastic Hussite expectations of an expected conqueror that would defeat the Antichrist at the end of time. This is evident when he laughed at the citizens who had gathered to meet him, because they were dressed in old Hussite attire as well as shaking iron flails, a traditional Hussite weapon. As far as he believed, this was just part of the entertainment along the way.[33] Frederick gregariously entertained himself in this city as well as others where the citizens gathered in Hussite attire and displayed traditional weaponry.[34] The events of the royal progress itself were not the only forms of propaganda used by the Directors to promote Frederick V's new role as King of Bohemia.

The Thirty Years' War was a watershed for modern forms of propaganda in the shape of thousands of pamphlets, illustrated broadsheets, and ballads that played just as critical a role as the actions of the

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[30] Philippe Buc, "1701 in Medieval Perspective. Monarchical Rituals between the Middle Ages and Modernity," *Majestas* 10 (2002): 124.

[31] Ibid., 92.

[32] Jaroslav Čechura, *Zimní Král aneb české dobrodružství Fridricha Falckého* (Prague: Rybka Publishers, 2004), 95.

[33] Ibid., 96–97.

[34] Ibid., 98–99; Skála ze Zhoře, 206.

Protestant Union and Catholic League for sparking the war.[35] Initially, Albrecht Dürer participated in the broader Northern Renaissance endeavor to employ humanist talents to spiritually renew society by combining visual and written symbols in illustrated broadsheets.[36] In the sixteenth century, first Protestants and later Catholics harnessed the illustrated broadsheet for confessional ends. They both did so because it was a very effective medium that allowed for communication between literate and illiterate audiences.[37] These advantages explain why illustrated broadsheets were so frequently used in the Thirty Years' War.[38] Thus, since illustrated broadsheets reached a broad audience, they are able to serve as a window into the mentalities of the times. The numerous broadsheets dealing with Frederick offer an invaluable source for understanding how contemporaries either perceived or attempted to portray Frederick's actions in Bohemia.[39] Hence, this work employs two prominent published collections of illustrated broadsheets edited by Mirjam Bohatcová and Elmer Beller.[40]

An illustrated broadsheet depicting Frederick's royal progress towards Prague echoed Albrecht Dürer's *Triumphal Procession* for Maximilian I, and in a sense, represented a Wittelsbach version of this earlier display of Habsburg power (see figure 2).[41] Frederick's

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[35] Carlos Gilly, "The Midnight Lion, the Eagle and the Antichrist: Political, Religious and Chiliastic Propaganda in the Pamphlets, Illustrated Broadsheets and Ballads of the Thirty Years War," *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 80 (2000): 47.

[36] David Hotchkiss Price, *Albrecht Durer's Renaissance. Humanism, Reformation and the Art of Faith* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

[37] Robert Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

[38] Wolfgang Harms, "The Illustrated Broadsheet as an Opinion-Forming Medium at the Time of the Thirty Years' War," in *1648—War and Peace in Europe*, vol. 2 *Essays: Art and Culture*, eds. Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling, 323–328.

[39] Jana Hubková, "Friedrich V. von der Pfalz in den illustrierten Flugblättern und Flugschriften seiner Zeit," in *Der Winterkönig, Friedrich von der Pfalz*, ed. P. Wolf, 107–110; id., "Exil Fridricha Falckého v letácích jeho doby," in *Víra nebo vlast?: Exil v českých dějinách raného novověku* (Ústí nad Labem: Albis International, 2001), 184–197.

[40] Mirjam Bohatcová, ed. *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges* (Prague: Artia, 1966); Elmer Beller, ed. *Caricatures of the 'Winter King' of Bohemia from the Sutherland Collection in the Bodleian Library, and from the British Musuem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928).

[41] Anon., *Einzug des durchleuchtigsten…Hern Friedrichen, erwehlten König zu Böhmen* (n.p. n.d.), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 28; for an analysis of the influence Dürer's *Triumphal Procession*, see Heidi Eberhardt Bate, "Portrait and Pageantry: New Idioms in the Interaction between City and Empire in Sixteenth-Century Nuremberg," in *Politics and Reformations: Communities, Polities, Nations, and Empires. Essays in Honor of Thomas A. Brady, Jr.*, eds., Christopher Ocker et al. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2007), 124–128.

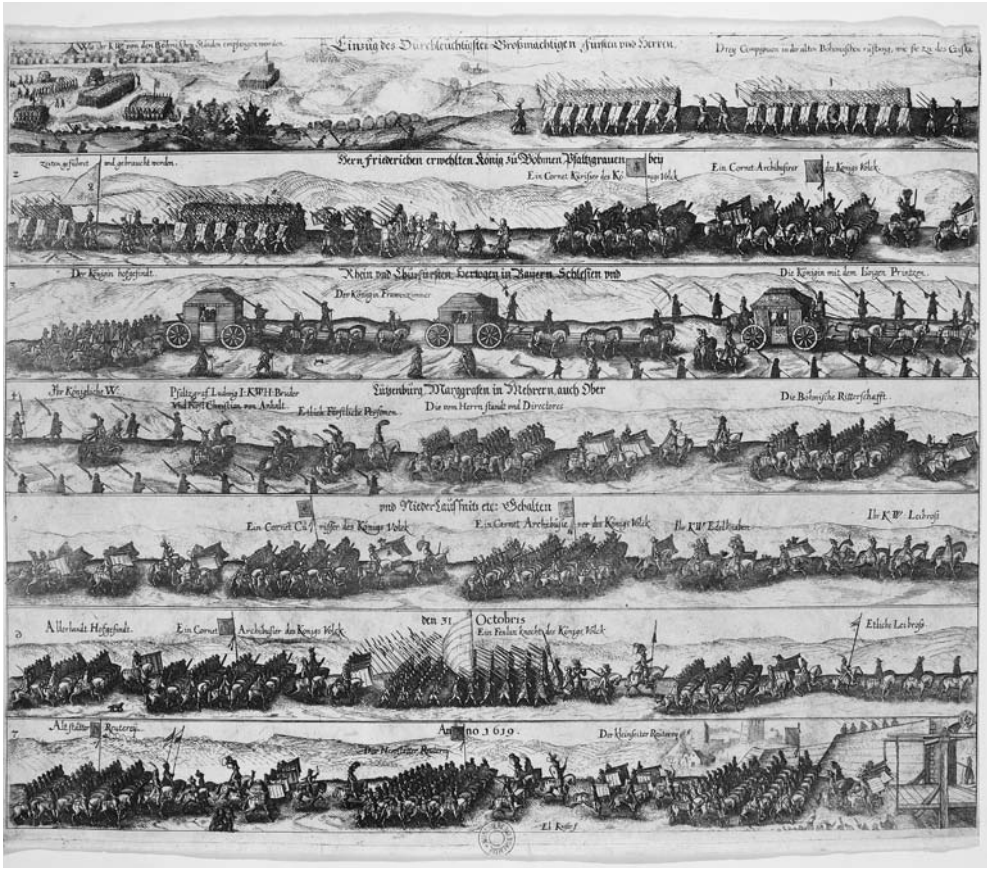
Einzug des Durchleuchtigsten Großmechtigen Fürsten und Herren.
Hern friederichen erwehlten König zu Behmen Pfaltzgrauen bey
Rhein und Churfürsten, Hertzogen in Bayern, Schlesien und
Lützenburg, Marggrafen in Meherrn auch Ober
und Nieder-Lauſnitz etc: Schalten
Ihr K.W. Leibroß
Alterhandt Hofgesindt.
den 31. Octobris
Anno 1619.

Fig. 2. *Einzug des durchleuchtigsten…Hern Friedrichen, erwehlten König zu Böhmen*. Anon. n.p. n.d. Courtesy of the National Gallery in Prague

supporters in Bohemia attempted to link Frederick to the famed military tradition of the late medieval Hussite past.[42] This was emphasized in the broadsheet which made special reference to the Hussite clad guard that escorted Frederick to the royal castle, the Hradčany. The broadsheet noted that their attire was the same that was worn in the glory days of Jan Žižka, the renowned one-eyed Hussite war leader.[43]

[42] M. Bohatcová, ed. *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, 35.

[43] Anon., *Einzug des durchleuchtigsten…Hern Friedrichen, erwehlten König zu Böhmen*; see also Thomas Fudge, "Žižka's Drum: The Political Uses of Popular Religion," *Central European History* 36 (2003): 563–568.

Even before the election of Frederick, an illustrated broadsheet threatened the Jesuits with the revival of Žižka.[44] The Hussite's repudiation of Emperor Sigismund as King of Bohemia based on a combination of religious zeal and notions of elective kingship was not unlike the Bohemian Estates' willingness to oust Ferdinand II and elect Frederick V.[45] Furthermore, the Defenestration of Prague in 1618, in which the Bohemian rebels dramatically defenestrated Habsburg administrators, was a conscious imitation on part of the Bohemian Estates to begin their revolt as the Hussite Revolt had begun in 1418.[46]

An important theme addressed in Pavel Skála's *Historie církevní* (Church History) was the legitimacy of Frederick V's coronation as King of Bohemia.[47] Pavel Skála of Zhoře (1583–1640) was a Bohemian historian and court official for Frederick V who wrote his church history as an exile following the debacle of White Mountain, the battle in 1620 which ended Frederick's short rule in Bohemia and earned him the sobriquet "the Winter King." This theme was also echoed in an illustrated single-leaf broadsheet published not long after the battle. In this broadsheet there were a series of illustrations with accompanying statements that attempted to disprove any claims that Frederick V's coronation was not genuine (see figure 3).[48] The author explained how the coronation was performed with repeated variations of "like a king" before each description of an act. According to the broadsheet, the coronation ceremony began with a sermon, Frederick swore an oath, received the unction from the administrators, obtained the royal ring, sword, scepter, and orb; the nobility expressed their approval

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[44] Anon., *Der Gehsuwiderich Pfaffen Schwarm*…(n.p. 1618 [?]), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 7.

[45] For the Hussites and Sigismund, see Jeanne E. Grant, "Rejecting an Emperor: Hussites and Sigismund," in *Politics and Reformations: Communities, Polities, Nations, and Empires. Essays in Honor of Thomas A. Brady, Jr.*, eds. Ocker et al., 459–470.

[46] Parker, *The Thirty Years' War*, 48; Ferdinand Seibt, *Revolution in Europa. Ursprung und Wege innere Gewalt* (Munich: Süddeutscher Verlag, 1984), 349–394.

[47] Josef Janák reproduced and edited large sections of Pavel's *Historie cirknevní* (1623) dealing with this time period in Pavel Skála ze Zhoře, *Historie çeská. Od Defenestrace k Bílé Hoře*, ed. Josef Janácek (Prague: Svoboda, 1984), Skála's discussion of the coronation is found on p. 211 of this version.

[48] Anon., *Eigentliche Contrafactur aller underschiedlichen Acten, wie der…Herr Friedrich, der 5. Pfaltzgrave bey Rhein…den 4. Nov. anno 1619 zum König in Böheim ist gekrönt worden* (n.p. 1620 [?]), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 29.

Fig. 3. *Eigentliche Contrafactur aller underschiedlichen Acten, wie der…Herr Friedrich, der 5. Pfaltzgrave bey Rhein…den 4. Nov. anno 1619 zum König in Böheim ist gekrönt worden*. Anon. n.p. 1620 [?]. Courtesy of the National Gallery in Prague

and swore their oaths of fidelity, and Frederick dubbed new knights.[49] Flanking the descriptive illustrations were pictures of Frederick V and Elizabeth Stuart with images of the traditional silver and gold coins depicting the symbols of Bohemian kingship: for example, a silver coin with five arms holding up the Bohemian crown representing the support of the five estates that made up the Bohemian crown lands, as well as a reverse image of the coin with the motto *Concordia dante Deo*

[49] Ibid.

et Ordinum (Concord and Order before God).[50] In his history, Pavel Skála also offered a detailed description of the illustrated broadsheet depicting Frederick's coronation.[51]

The necessity to print the broadsheet was in and of itself an indication that Frederick's legitimacy had reached a new crisis following his military defeat at White Mountain. However, it also revealed the challenges that the Estates had in creating a Protestant form of kingship while simultaneously adhering to Bohemian traditions of kingship. The illustrated broadsheet mentioned above glosses over significant changes that actually took place during the coronation ceremony. In fact, Šimon Lomnický's commissioned coronation poem for Frederick exposed this crisis of sacral kingship.[52] For example, unlike the controversial conversion of Henry of Navarre who reportedly quipped that the French crown was "worth a mass," the mass was a problem for the Protestant dominated Bohemian Estates who had elected Frederick V, because Frederick was still the leader of the Protestant Union.[53] The leadership of the Bohemian Estates, the Directors, attempted to stay as close as possible for a Protestant to the coronation script of the late medieval paragon of Bohemian kingship, Emperor Charles IV.[54] Indeed, after Frederick's fall, Catholics likewise used Charles IV extensively as a model in their efforts to spread Catholic confessionalization throughout Bohemia.[55] There was also another important reason to associate Frederick with Charles IV; Charles' second wife was Anne of the Palatinate.[56] However, times had changed and for Frederick's coronation ceremony anything that smacked of 'popery'

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[50] Ibid.

[51] Skála ze Zhoře, 211.

[52] Jana Hubková, "Die Gelegenheitsdichtung von Šimon Lomnický von Budeč aus den Jahren 1619–1621. von der Krönung von Friederich von der Pfalz zu den ersten Reaktionen auf die Schlacht am Weißen Berg," *Acta Comeniana* 15–16 (2002): 183–225.

[53] Michael Wolfe, *The Conversion of Henri IV: Politics, Power, and Religious Belief in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

[54] Hubková, "Die Gelegenheitsdichtung von Šimon Lomnický von Budeč aus den Jahren 1619–1621," 198.

[55] Jiří Mikulec, "Historische Argumentation im konfessionellen Zeitalter. Kaiser Karl IV. und die Rekatholisierung Böhmens im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Konfessionelle Pluralität als Herausforderung. Koexistenz und Konflikt in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, eds. Joachim Bahlcke, Karen Lambrecht and Hans-Christian Maner (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2006), 477–487.

[56] Čechura, 41.

had to be abandoned. Therefore, the Directors axed the mass which had been an element of the coronation ceremony since the age of the first Bohemian ruling house.[57]

Initially, there was an attempt to discard the unction portion of the ceremony as well, since it could not be substantiated by any scriptures from the New Testament; however, the concern for continuity in tradition for the sake of legitimacy prevailed and they anointed Frederick king. Nevertheless, Šimon Lomnický de-emphasized this central act of the coronation ceremony in his commissioned coronation poem, in order to stress the actual placement of the crown on Frederick's head.[58] The attempt to minimize the significance of the anointing echoes the challenges that faced Protestant attempts to change the English coronation ceremony from the time of Edward VI to Elizabeth I. For example, when the Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cramner, anointed Edward VI, he emphasized that the anointing was not necessary, but simply served as a reminder of the king's duty to God.[59]

Although they sang the litany in Czech for Frederick's coronation, the meaning of the litany was lacking without the context of the mass.[60] The continuance of the litany without the mass demonstrated the importance of tradition and ritual in giving legitimacy to the Bohemian coronation ceremony. Indeed, this importance was not lost on later Habsburgs during the Enlightenment. For example, during the coronation ceremony of Leopold II (r. 1790–92), the highest Burgrave performed the traditional greeting in Czech to the new monarch, despite the fact that neither the Burgrave nor Leopold II understood any Czech. Also, Leopold II left unchanged the Latin phrases in the post White Mountain coronation oath where he promises to

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[57] Hubková, "Die Gelegenheitsdichtung von Šimon Lomnický von Budeč aus den Jahren 1619–1621," 198.

[58] Ibid., 198, 203.

[59] Richard C. McCoy, "'The Wonderfull Spectacle': The Civic Progress of Elizabeth I and the Troublesome Coronation," in *Coronations. Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 218, 224; see also Robert E. Stillman, "'Nothing More Needful:' Politics and the Rhetoric of Accommodation in Queen Elizabeth I's Coronation Procession," in *Spectacle and Public Performance in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. idem (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2006), 51–78.

[60] Hubková, "Die Gelegenheitsdichtung von Šimon Lomnický von Budeč aus den Jahren 1619–1621," 202.

defend the Catholic faith against heresy, even though Joseph II had legalized religious toleration.[61]

Finally, one more subtle, but significant change in Frederick's coronation ceremony was the decision of the Directors to substitute the first seven verses of the chapter of First Timothy for the traditional epistle reading of verses eleven through twenty five of First Peter. This was most likely done by the leaders of the Bohemian Revolt because the eighth verse of the traditional reading admonished obedience to even bad rulers.[62]

The Palatine supporters were quick to emphasize their claim that ultimately God had chosen Frederick to be king and that the Bohemian Estates were instruments in God's hands. On account of her pregnancy, Elizabeth received her crown on the 28th of October in a shortened ceremony. The same day, Frederick's supporters published the official proclamation describing the coronation ceremony. Ludwig Camerarius, Frederick's chief political advisor, composed it, and in it he maintained that it was not personal ambition that drove Frederick to accept the crown, but a "divine calling."[63] Likewise, an illustrated broadsheet published at the same time reinforced this message.[64] The illustration depicted Frederick and Elizabeth decked out with diadems and regal robes. Four lions (symbolizing the Palatinate, Bohemia, England, and Holland) acted as sentinels for the royal pair. Above the illustration was a verse from Psalms 23 "This is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes." In the illustration, Hus, Luther, and Calvin surrounded Frederick who was holding the Bible in his hands.[65] In the text it stated explicitly that Frederick was "chosen and called by God Himself."[66] Frederick did appear to have genuinely come to the con-

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[61] Hugh le Caine Agnew, "Ambiguities of Ritual: Dynastic Loyalty, Territorial Patriotism and Nationalism in the Last Three Royal Coronations in Bohemia 1791–1836," *Bohemia* 41 (2000): 3–22.

[62] Hubková, "Die Gelegenheitsdichtung von Šimon Lomnický von Budeč aus den Jahren 1619–1621," 202.

[63] Coronation acceptance letter of Friedrich V (Prague 28 October 1619), in *Quellen zur Vorgeschichte und zu den Anfängen des dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. Lorenz Gottfried (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1991), no. 67, 409–418; Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, 74.

[64] Anon., *Currier* (n.p., 1619), in *Caricatures of the 'Winter King' of Bohemia*, ed. and trans. E.A. Beller, plate no. 1.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

clusion that he had to accept the crown because it was his "calling."[67] The coronation certainly seemed to cement his role as the Protestant defender against Habsburg Catholic 'tyranny,' as is evident in the English and Dutch translations of the ceremony. This was especially conspicuous in the Dutch translation which included a postscript from Heidelberg discussing Frederick's military preparations for resisting the Habsburgs.[68]

The important nexus between religion and legitimacy in Bohemian kingship was not just necessary for Frederick V, but for all foreign dynasties that acquired the Bohemian throne after the extinction of the last native dynasty, the Přemyslids. In the late Middle Ages, Charles IV of the Luxembourg dynasty excelled at making use of 'national' and dynastic cults to strengthen his legitimacy after beating out the Habsburgs, a rival international dynasty, for the Bohemian crown. For Charles IV it was critical that he demonstrated a relationship to native royal saints. The Luxembourgs became so successful at this that the Habsburgs imitated their example by promoting a dynastic cult in Central Europe.[69]

Frederick V received an educational experience grounded in a Calvinist setting in which the Palatine Wittelsbach's perceived themselves as defenders of religious liberty against the Catholic 'tyranny' of the Habsburgs.[70] Frederick V's father had initially attempted to set himself up as a Protestant leader of the Empire with the creation of the Protestant Union in 1607. As part of his efforts to lure the Imperial Knights of Franconia, Swabia, and the Rhineland into the Protestant Union, both Frederick V and his father invited them to serve as

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[67] Pursell, *The Winter King*, 78–80; Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, 72.

[68] M.D.S., *Corte ende warachtige beschrijvinge van de crooninge des Conincx van Bohemen Friderici den eersten van dien Name* (n.p., 1619). Rare book. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA; John Harrison, *A short relation of the departure of the high and mightie prince Frederick king elect of Bohemia*…(London: 1619). Rare book. Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com [accessed December 13, 2004].

[69] Gabor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princes. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, trans. Éva Pálmai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 327–331; Rupert Feuchtmüller, "Die 'Imitatio' Karls IV in den Stiftungen der Habsburger," in *Kaiser Karl IV*, ed. Ferdinand Seibt (Munich: Prestel, 1978), 378–386; Elizabeth Kovács, "Die Heiligen und heiligen Könige der frühen Habsburger (1273–1519)," in *Laienfrömmigkeit im späten Mittelater. Formen, Funktionen, politische-soziale Zusammenhänge*, ed. Klaus Schreiner (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1992), 93–125.

[70] See ch. 1, ch. 4.

godfathers for their eldest sons.[71] The Imperial Knights did serve in this capacity, but they did not join the Protestant Union.[72]

To no small degree, the Calvinist confessionalization of the Palatine court actually limited the career opportunities for Catholic Imperial Knights, who previously would have looked to strengthen their ties with the Palatine Wittelsbachs.[73] In fact, the divided nature of the House of Wittelsbach was also manifest in the counter-wooing of the Imperial Knights by the Catholic convert, Wolfgang Wilhelm, the Wittelsbach Duke of Palatinate-Neuburg, who attempted to attach them to the Catholic League headed by Frederick's cousin, Maximilian I of Bavaria. Maximilian, however, was uncomfortable with the idea because so many of the Imperial Knights were Protestant. Indeed, despite the enticements of the Wittelsbachs, the Imperial Knights attempted to stay neutral because they did not want to be divided along confessional lines, since for them, social class and tradition were more important.[74] The exceptions were the Franconian Imperial Knights, who in 1619 did express willingness to fight for Frederick V; but in the end even the Protestant Union chose neutrality once the war actually began.[75]

The willingness of the Franconian Imperial Knights to wage war against the zealous Catholic Habsburg Ferdinand II may have come from Ulrich von Hutten's legacy, who in the early years of the Protestant Reformation had wedded medieval chivalry and German pride with his own sense of religious reform against the papacy.[76] As the historian Peter Burke has emphasized, the Renaissance movements outside of Italy were not "carbon copies" of the Italian Renaissance, and north of the Alps there was a renewed interest in medieval origins of identity.[77] Indeed, the references to *pax* (peace) and *concordia*

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[71] Richard Ninness, "Confessional Conflict and Cooperation and in Early Modern Germany: The Catholic Prince-Bishopric and its Protestant Aristocracy (1555–1519)" (Ph.D., diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2006), 214–217.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Christophe Duhamelle, "The Making of Stability: Kinship, Church, and Power among the Rhenish Imperial Knighthood, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development (1300–1900)*, eds. Sabean et al., 131.

[74] Ninness, 216–219, 223–226.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Lewis Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 128; Reinhard Seyboth, "Ulrich von Hutten und sein Verhältnis zur ritterschatlichen Bewegung," *Pirckheimer-Jahrbuch* 4 (1988): 129–143.

[77] Peter Burke, "The Uses of Italy," in *The Renaissance in National Context*, eds. Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 6–7.

(concord) served as the common denominators found in literature of the late Middle Ages that expressed hoped for Imperial reform.[78] Due to the zealous efforts of Conrad Celtis and Ulrich von Hutten to reintroduce Tacitus to the Germans, German humanists could simultaneously admire an ancient German liberty which was never subjected to the Roman yoke, as well as revel in the glory of the Holy Roman Empire as Rome's heir.[79] Indeed, as part of the iconography of the wedding celebration of 1609 for the Protestant Union member Johann Friedrich of Württemberg, a 'legion' of ancient Germanic heroes like Arminius appeared to call for reform in the Empire.[80]

The German humanist Conrad Celtis placed great hopes for this revival to occur under the patronage of the Habsburg Emperor Maximilian I.[81] Prophecies associated with Imperial revival under the Luxembourg Emperor Sigismund (the *Reformatio Sigismundi*) became attached to Emperor Maximilian I as well.[82] Also, in Italy we can find early examples of this type of great expectations for Holy Roman Emperors. For example, Francesco Petrarch had hoped that Emperor Sigismund's father, the Luxembourg Emperor Charles IV, would bring about a renewal of classical antiquity and restore a 'Golden Age.'[83]

However, even before Petrarch there was Dante, and Dante Alighieri was a classic example of how the transitory period between the late Middle Ages and the Italian Renaissance could manifest themselves in eschatological expectations of a reforming emperor. In his magnum opus *The Divine Comedy*, Dante placed the radical Franciscan

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[78] Heiko Oberman, "The Shape of Late Medieval Thought: The Birthpangs of the Modern Era," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 64 (1973): 24; for a global approach to theme of religious reform and imperial mission in the early modern world, see Luke Clossey, "Faith in Empire: Religious Sources of Legitimacy for Expansionist Early-Modern States," in *Politics and Reformations: Communities, Polities, Nations, and Empires. Essays in Honor of Thomas A. Brady, Jr.*, eds. Ocker, et al., 571–588.

[79] Lewis Spitz, *Conrad Celtis: The German Arch-Humanist* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 99–101; see also Julie Tanaka, "Historical Writing and German Identity: Jacob Wimpheling and Sebastian Franck," in *Politics and Reformations: Histories and Reformations. Essays in Honor of Thomas A. Brady, Jr.*, ed. Ocker et al., 155–176; Kenneth C. Schellhase, *Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).

[80] Watanabe-O'Kelly, "The Protestant Union: Festivals, Festival Books, War and Politics," 16–17.

[81] James Overfield, "Germany," in *The Renaissance in National Context*, eds. R. Porter and M. Teich, 92–93; Spitz, *Conrad Celtis: The German Arch-Humanist*, 95.

[82] Hermann Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I. Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*. vol. 1 *Jugend, burgundisches Erbe und Römisches Königtum bis zur Alleinherrschaft 1459–1493* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1971), 414.

[83] Heinz Stoob, *Kaiser Karl IV. und seine Zeit* (Graz: Verlag Styria, 1990), 86.

friar Joachim of Fiore in Paradise.[84] Dante was sympathetic to Joachim because they both hoped that the Church would be reformed in the future by divine providence in the coming of a reforming emperor. Dante hoped it would be the Luxembourg Emperor Henry VII.[85] Joachim's influence on the trinitarian conception of history evolved into a form of political Joachism in which a Last World Emperor would defeat the Antichrist and usher in the Millennium. Eminent scholars such as Cola di Rienzo represented this form as he hoped that the Luxembourg Emperor Charles IV would reform Rome, and together with the newly reformed pope, usher in the new Golden Age.[86]

These notions of chivalry and eschatology fused together in the 'Palatine Myth' depicting the Palatine Wittelsbachs as defenders of the faith through the transcontinental exchanges of ideas between England and the continent. In contrast to Renaissance humanists in England, whose expectations of a Golden Age were often taken directly from the ancient Greeks, English Puritans looked for a biblical version of the Golden Age that would return the earth to the state of Eden before the fall. They were assisted in this through their readings of such early Church Fathers as Irenaeus, who himself borrowed from Hellenistic sources about the Golden Age.[87] A good example of these cross-cultural influences on the 'Palatine Myth' was Frederick V's court preacher and advisor, Abraham Scultetus, who in his autobiography reminisced about the optimism that he and other Calvinists felt in 1591 when Queen Elizabeth of England and Johann Casimir of the Palatinate were governing. He stated "We imagined that the *aureum seculum* or a Golden Age had dawned."[88]

Besides being fed by Palatine confessionalized dynastic ambitions through the 'Palatine Myth,' Frederick V also 'married' into the English Protestant myth by wedding Elizabeth Stuart. As discussed in the last chapter, the connection between Elizabethan Protestant chivalry and Palatine identity had already begun in the late sixteenth century.

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[84] Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages. A Study in Joachism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969; reprint, South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 3.

[85] Ibid., 319.

[86] Ibid., 319, 421, 293–319.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Abraham Scultetus, *Die Selbstbiographie des Heidelberger Theologen und Hofpredigers Abraham Scultetus*, ed. Gustav Benrath (Karlsruhe: Evang. Presseverband, 1966), 30.

However, the 'Palatine Myth' of victorious heroes was intimately connected with the efforts of English Protestant writers, who attempted to use Frederick V vicariously for the now deceased Henry Stuart. As noted in the last chapter, Henry Stuart appeared poised to become a great defender of English Protestantism against Habsburg 'tyranny' before his unexpected death just prior to the wedding between Frederick V and Elizabeth Stuart.[89] Likewise, many English Protestants hoped that the Elizabethan heritage would live on in Elizabeth I's namesake, Elizabeth Stuart.[90]

James I did not approve of Frederick's acceptance of the Bohemian crown from the Bohemian Estates because it not only clashed with his ecumenical efforts, but it also contradicted his view on the divine right of kings.[91] The English press tended to favor the Bohemian Estates because they could more readily identify with this social order and their enthusiasm was in marked contrast to the more restrained reaction by a number of English aristocrats.[92] The proponents of the 'Jacobean Peace' also had their artistic representation in the form of court masques.[93] Indeed, many Protestant European kings were hesitant about supporting a regime that had dethroned a previous ruler, and even Frederick's cousin Maximilian of Bavaria warned him against taking the crown. Likewise, the Dutch Republic still placed their local considerations of security above Frederick's Bohemian adventure.[94] Nevertheless, there were many English and Dutch who championed Frederick's cause in Bohemia, including Frederick's uncle Prince Maurice of Orange, who equated the Bohemian Revolt with the plight of the Dutch against Habsburg 'tyranny.'[95] Also, when John Taylor, a London poet, returned to England from his journey to Prague in 1620,

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[89] See ch. 4.

[90] Watkins, *Representing Elizabeth in Stuart England*, 33–34.

[91] Pursell, *The Winter King*, 81–82; W.B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 296, 303.; Elmar Weiß, *Die Unterstützung Friedrichs V. von der Pfalz durch Jacob I. und Karl I. von England im Dreißigjährigen Krieg (1618–1632)* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1966), 11.

[92] Miller, *Falcký Mýtus*, 152.

[93] Peter Holbrook, "Jacobean Masques and the Jacobean Peace," in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, eds. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 69–71.

[94] Pursell, *The Winter King*, 80–82, 110.

[95] Rüde, *England und Kurpfalz im werdenden Mächteeuropa*, 168–169, 226–227; Josef Polišensky, *Tragic Triangle: The Netherlands, Spain and Bohemia, 1617–1621* (Prague: Charles University, 1991), 103.

he was bombarded with so many questions by his fellow countrymen concerning events in Bohemia that he decided it would be easier to publish his travel account rather than continue to reply verbally.[96] Indeed, just shortly after the Battle of White Mountain, the Venetian ambassador noticed an uncomfortable chasm between the popular sentiment in favor of military support for Frederick and Elizabeth and James I's pacific policies.[97] The later hesitation by Parliament to give James more money for the Palatine Cause had far more to do with Parliament's distrust of James than lack of interest in militarily supporting Frederick and Elizabeth.[98]

The English militant Protestant expectations for Frederick V were evident in an illustrated broadsheet celebrating the birth of Frederick and Elizabeth's first son, Frederick Henry, in Heidelberg.[99] This broadsheet contained congratulatory messages in German, English, French, and Latin. The tone of expectation was considerably higher in the English than in the French, German and Latin. All the messages praised God for the birth of a prince with potential, but only the English text referred to him as the future "arch-governor" of Europe:

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[96] John Taylor, *Taylor his Trauels: From the Citty of London in England to the Citty of Prague in Bohemia.* (London: 1620). Rare book. Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com [accessed March 1, 2007]; Miller, *Falcký Mýtus*, 27.

[97] Miller, "From Conquerors to Martyrs," 79–90; id., "Rex pacificus nebo fidei defensor? Jakub I. a tisk pamfletu o českem povstani v anglii, 1618–1621," *Česky Časopis Historicky* 99 (2001): 760–787; for a contrasting view see Pursell, *Winter King*, 153.

[98] Miller, "From Conquerors to Martyrs," 79–90; Hans Werner, "*The Hector of Germanie, or the Palsgrave, Prime Elector* and Anglo-German Relations of Early Stuart England: The View from the Popular Stage," in *The Stuart Court and Europe. Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. R. Malcum Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 113–132; Simon Adams, "Spain or the Netherlands? The Dilemmas of Early Stuart Foreign Policy," in *Before the English Civil War: Essays on Early Stuart Politics and Government*, ed. Howard Tomlinson (London: Macmillan, 1984), 101; id., "Foreign Policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624," in *Faction and Parliament: Essays on Early Stuart History*, ed. Kevin Sharpe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 139–171; Paul Seaver, "State Religion and Puritan Resistance in early Seventeenth-Century England," in *Religion and the Early Modern State. Views from China, Russia, and the West*, eds. James D. Tracy and Marguerite Ragnow (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 207–249; Jonathon Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth Century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 100.

[99] Anon., *Auff die freudenreiche Geburt und christliche Tauff deß erstgebornen Sohns…Herrn Friedricheen deß V. Pfaltzgraffen bey Rhein…und der Frawen Elisabeth, Jacobi…die Geburt war den 1. Januarii, die Tauff aber den 6. Martii anno 1614 zu Heidelberg* (n.p. 1614 [?]), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 35.

> Grow Bliffed Babe who in thy ages prime
> Hes bred fuche Joyful Hops into all Harts
> That thow art held for wonder of our time
> …So may thow liue Europs Arch-governour
> Joy of our age & mankynds cheef Darling
> Thow princelie childe grow to the great Impire
> A Loadftar ftil & greateft Sacred Sire.[100]

However, the heightened expectations of the English are more understandable when placed in the context of the 'Palatine Myth.' Indeed, Henry Peacham, who had devoted his literary talents to Frederick and Elizabeth's wedding, also published a panegyric at the birth of Frederick Henry titled *Prince Henry Revived*.[101] The level of patronage for the 'Palatine Myth' promoted by Frederick and Elizabeth is not easy to ascertain, but Henry Stuart had patronized the acting company "Prince Henry's Men," and after his death a new company called the "Palsgrave's Men" appeared. "Palsgrave" was the English name for the Palatinate. Finally, even after White Mountain, a company known as "The King and Queen of Bohemia's Men" was active in the 1620s.[102]

In contrast to the 'Palatine Myth,' prominent Calvinist ecclesiastical leaders in the Palatinate, especially David Pareus, attempted to shun another myth which became associated with Frederick V: the Rosicrucian chiliastic myths of Elias Artista and the Midnight Lion.[103] The Rosicrucian myth was an offshoot from the same medieval origins and cross-cultural fertilizations which produced the 'Palatine Myth.' In particular, the Rosicrucian myth was a brew fermented in the alchemist cauldron of a maverick physician named Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, or Paracelsus, whose beliefs were influenced by political Joachism.[104] Medieval Franciscan alchemists inspired him with their dedicatory addresses to the prophet Elisha that evolved into a messianic expectation in which Elias would return as the master artist of alchemy and usher in a Golden Age of cosmic harmony through alchemical principles.[105] When these alchemists thought of a

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[100] Ibid.

[101] Miller, "From Conquerors to Martyrs," 83; Henrie Peacham, *Prince Henrie revived* (London, 1615). Rare book. Early English Books Online, http: eebo.chadwyck.com [accessed March 1, 2007].

[102] Miller, "From Conquerors to Martyrs," 84.

[103] Reeves, 302; Gilly, "The Midnight Lion, the Eagle and the Antichrist," 46–77.

[104] Reeves, 454–457, 501–502.

[105] Walter Pagel, "The Paracelsian Elias Artista and the Alchemical Tradition," in *Kreatur und Kosmos. Internationale Beiträge zur Paracelsusforschung*, ed. Rosemarie Dilg-Frank (Stuttgart: Gustav Fischer, 1981) 6–19.

'Golden Age,' they meant it both literally and figuratively, since Elias would know the secret of how to transmute iron into gold.[106] The association between religious and alchemical expectations stem from a belief among the alchemists that the creation of the world was itself an alchemical process.[107]

The "Rosicrucian Brotherhood" was a fictitious association first depicted in two pamphlets printed in the territory of Frederick's ally in the Protestant Union, Landgrave Mauritz of Hesse-Kassel, in 1614 and 1615. According to the tracts, a certain "Christian Rosenkreutz" or "Rose Cross" had organized a fraternity newly restored that would bring about the renewal of the earth through the power of hermetic knowledge associated with magic, Kabbalah, and alchemy.[108] Although these tracts were first published in Hesse-Kassel, their unpublished form went back much farther.[109] An important eschatological element stemmed from a chiliastic interpretation of the vision of the Eagle found in the eleventh and twelfth chapters from the book of Ezra in the Bible. Deriving from a pseudo-Paracelsian manuscript, it first appeared in 1600 and was published for the first time in 1622.[110] The Elizabethan and continental elements fused with late medieval Scandinavian expectations in an unpublished form before Frederick IV established the Protestant Union in 1607. Already, by 1604 Johannes Bureus of Sweden proposed having Frederick IV lead a Protestant military alliance. In fact, a year later there emerged a prophecy of the Midnight Lion associated with the Swedish King Charles IX in 1605. In 1612,

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[106] Ibid., 6–9.

[107] Betty J.T. Dobbs, "From the Secrecy of Alchemy to the Openness of Chemistry," in *Solomon's House Revisited. The Organization and Institutionalization of Science*, ed. Tore Frängsmyr (Canton: Science History Publications & The Nobel Foundation, 1990), 78–79.

[108] Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, xii, 42; Bruce Moran, *The Alchemical World of the German Court: Occult Philosophy and Chemical Medicine in the Circle of Moritz of Hessen (1572–1632)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1991), 87–101; Carlos Gilly, *Adam Haslmayr. Der erste Verkünder der Manifeste Rosenkreuzer* (Amsterdam: Frommann-Holzborg, 1994); Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Paracelsian Movement," in *Renaissance Essays*, 157; Moshe Idel, *Kabbalah. New Perspectives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988). Charles Webster, "Paracelsus, the Jews, and the Magic of the Orient," *Acta Comeniana* 13 (1999): 11–26.

[109] Susanna Åkerman, *Rose Cross over the Baltic: The Spread of Rosicrucianism in Northern Europe* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), 111–114.

[110] Gilly, "The Midnight Lion, the Eagle and the Antichrist," 48–49; for the influence of the book of Ezra on Rosicrucian enthusiasts, see Alastair Hamilton, *The Apocryphal Apocalypse: The Reception of the Second Book of Esdras (4 Ezra) from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 162–194.

two years before the publication of the first Rosicrucian manifestos, the manuscripts were in the hands of one of Frederick's most important political advisors, Ludwig Camerarius.[111] Although Frederick's ecclesiastical advisors may have rejected the Rosicrucian manifestation of the 'Palatine Myth,' his top political advisors embraced it. Indeed, many Calvinist princes in Central Europe like Mauritz of Hesse-Kassel began to link Rosicrucianism within their broader efforts to confessionalize their territories. Many also hoped that Frederick, as head of the Protestant Union, would be the 'Midnight Lion' who would defeat the Habsburgs and bring on the 'Golden Age.'[112]

The most influential interpreter of this Midnight Lion 'prophecy' was Johannes Kärcher who wrote under the pseudonym Johannes Plaustrarius. In several pamphlets, he claimed that Frederick V was indeed the Midnight Lion who would conquer the Austrian Eagle and the Antichrist, thus ushering in a reign of peace before the end of the world. Perhaps the most important work of his was his pamphlet published in 1619 titled the *Prognostication or Prophecy concerning the Year 1619*. This tract had an important influence on public opinion, as reflected in the several editions that were published.[113] One of Frederick's primary lay court advisors, Christian von Anhalt, was a well-known patron of alchemy and the occult with previous connections with like-minded individuals in Prague.[114] Indeed, an important reason why Christian von Anhalt encouraged Frederick to take the Bohemian crown may have been because it would assist Anhalt's financial status, thanks to his participation in the interdependent mining processes involved between iron from the Upper Palatinate and tin from Bohemia.[115]

Interest in Paracelsian texts had been a shared Renaissance interest between both halves of the Wittelsbach dynasties.[116] Many Renaissance

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[111] Åkerman, 111–114.

[112] Howard Hotson, *Johann Heinrich Alsted 1588–1638. Between Renaissance, Reformation, and Universal Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 104, 202.

[113] Gilly, "The Midnight Lion, the Eagle and the Antichrist," 52–53.

[114] Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 49–50, 121–122; Pierre Béhar, "Okkultismus, Politik, Literatur und Astronomie zwischen Prag und Heidelberg," *Morgen-Glantz, Zeitschrift der Knorr-von-Rosenroth-Gesellschaft* 13 (2003): 23.

[115] Peter Wolf, "Eisen aus der Oberpfalz, Zinn aus Böhmen und die goldene böhmische Krone," in *Der Winterkönig, Friedrich von der Pfalz, Friedrich V: der letzte Kurfürst aus der oberen Pfalz*, eds. id, et al. (Augsburg: Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, 2003), 65–74.

[116] Trevor-Roper, "The Paracelsian Movement," 152–153, 162.; Frank Hieronymus,

princes felt that the occult sciences could be applied to the practical sciences to enhance their power, and the Wittelsbach princes were no exceptions.[117] For example, the Palatine Elector Ottheinrich patronized the collaboration of clockmakers as well as practitioners of Paracelsian medicine at his court in Heidelberg. Later, Ernst von Wittelsbach, the Elector of Cologne, actually published the first complete edition of Paracelsus' works. The manuscripts used for this edition were from Ottheinrich's collection housed at his court at Neuburg on the Danube.[118] This achievement represented the last fruits of a shared Wittelsbach interest in Renaissance science, since it likewise involved the cooperation of the Count Palatine of Neuburg, Phillip Ludwig, a Lutheran Wittelsbach alienated from his Calvinist relatives.[119] Paracelsus himself had been a religious maverick, not just critical of Galen's legacy in medicine, but also of clergy from all confessional stripes.[120]

An important precursor to the Rosicrucian texts was the efforts from 1607–1611 by the staunch Catholic political advisor to Ferdinand II, Kaspar Schoppe, to challenge the Palatine Wittelsbachs' cultural and political influence in the Empire. Schoppe championed the works of the imprisoned 'heretic' Tommaso Campanella of Calabria to promote the Habsburg dynasty against the Palatine Wittelsbachs. Schoppe did this by emphasizing the Paracelsian elements embedded in Campanella's works, especially *The City of the Sun*, by portraying the Habsburgs as reformers who would usher in the Golden Age. Indeed, Campanella himself even claimed, that if he were set free, he would be able to convert Frederick V to Catholicism in ten days. However, this movement eventually died out along with Campanella's hope of freedom, and Lutherans in the Empire began to incorporate Campanella's writings within what would be known as the Rosicrucian Enlightenment.[121] Thus, as Paracelsian texts became associated with Protestant and Catholic political aspirations, the shared Wittelsbach

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"Paracelsus-Druck in Basel," in *Paracelsus und seine internationale Rezeption in der frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Heinz Schott and Illana Zinguer (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), 54.

[117] Moran, *The Alchemical World of the German Court*, 176.

[118] Trevor-Roper, "The Paracelsian Movement," 153–154.

[119] Joachim Telle, "Johann Huser in seinen Briefen. Zum Schlesischen Paracelsismus im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Parerga Paracelsica. Paracelsus in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, ed. Joachim Telle (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1991), 159–178.

[120] Ute Gausa, *Paracelsus (1493–1541). Genese und Entfaltung seiner frühen Theologie* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1993), 278, 284.

[121] John Headley, *Tommaso Campanella and the Transformation of the World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 69–81.

Renaissance interest in Paracelsian medicine shattered on the shores of confessionalized humanism.[122]

The temporal insecurities of the times provoked a wave of apocalyptic 'prophecies' at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War.[123] The connection between temporal and chiliastic concerns in Bohemia also had a late medieval precedent with the Taborites during the Hussite Revolt.[124] Likewise, Luther had considered Hus to be the 'first martyr' to suffer at the hands of the Antichrist.[125] Besides his position as head of the Protestant Union, Frederick's symbol, the Wittelsbach lion, itself an inheritance from the medieval Hohenstaufen legacy,[126] certainly could lend itself to a variety of interpretations, particularly when the Bohemian lion became part of his identity. From the years 1614 to 1623, over 200 Rosicrucian texts appeared.[127]

Although the Rosicrucian furor was never as noticeable in England, there were some English who equated the 'Palatine Myth' in its Rosicrucian form stemming from contacts made at the funeral for Henry Stuart and the wedding of Frederick and Elizabeth.[128] For example, Count Michael Maier, the former physician of Rudolf II, and inspired by the works of Conrad Celtis and the *Germania* of Tacitus, entered the service of Mauritz of Hesse-Kassel in 1612.[129] Already a year earlier, he had dedicated a Christmas greeting to James I adorned

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[122] Telle, 178; Trevor-Roper, "The Paracelsian Movement," 173.

[123] Robin Bruce Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis. Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 250–251; Hans Jürgen Schönstädt, *Antichrist, Weltheilsgeschehen und Gottes Werkzeug: Römische Kirche, Reformation und Luther im Spiegel des Reformationsjubiläums 1617* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1978), 13–15, 36–38, 304.

[124] Howard Kaminsky, "Nicholas of Pelhřimouš's Tabor: An Adventure into the Eschaton," in *Eschatologie und Hussitismus*, eds. Alexander Patschovksy and František Šmahel (Prague: Historisches Institut, 1996), 139–167.

[125] Heiko Oberman, "Hus und Luther. Der Antichrist und die Zweite reformatorische Entdeckung," in *Jan Hus-zwischen Zeiten, Völkern, Konfessionen*, eds. Ferdinand Seibt, et al. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1997), 338.

[126] Volkert, 14.

[127] Bruce Moran, "Prophecy, and the Rosicrucians: Raphael Eglinus and Mystical Currents of the Early Seventeenth Century," in *Alchemy and Chemistry in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, eds. Piyo Rattansi and Antonio Clericuzio (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1994), 114.

[128] Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 156; Reeves, 391–392; Karin Figala and Ulrich Neumann, "'*Author cui nomen hermes malavici*.' New Light on the Bio-Bibliography of Michael Maier (1569–1622)," in *Alchemy and Chemistry in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, eds. Piyo Rattansi and Antonio Clericuzio, 113.

[129] Hereward Tilton, *The Quest of the Phoenix. Spiritual Alchemy and Rosicrucianism in the Work of Count Michael Maier (1569–1622)* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 135, 78.

with alchemical symbols and expressing his hope that the new Golden Age was nigh. Also, Mauritz was present at the funeral of Henry Stuart and the wedding ceremony of Elizabeth and Frederick.[130] Even the symbolic act of depicting Frederick as Jason the Argonaut at the wedding festivities could serve a dual purpose. As stated in the previous chapter, advocates of the 'Palatine Myth' would have recognized this as a challenge to the Habsburgs since they sponsored the Order of the Golden Fleece. However, Rosicrucian enthusiasts would have also been aware of the alchemical symbolic interpretation of the Golden Fleece as a parchment containing the secrets of how to make gold.[131] Furthermore, an important political figure later associated with the Bohemian Revolt, Jan Jetřich of Žerotin, was also present at these same events as part of Frederick's entourage.[132]

Anti-papal sentiment found in the Rosicrucian tracts was in harmony with the views of many English Protestants at the time.[133] There were significant intellectual ties between the courts of London, the Palatinate, and Prague in this age when a belief in magic was an expression of popular culture shared by both elites and commoners.[134] Within this context, Shakespeare's play, *The Winter's Tale*, not only reflects popular English understanding of Bohemia, but also the often intertwined relationship between hope, religion, and magic in this era.[135] Indeed, because of English perceptions of Bohemia as a haven for religious freedom at the time, it may be that Shakespeare

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[130] Ibid.

[131] Antoine Faivre, *The Golden Fleece and Alchemy* (Albany: State University of New York, 1993), 16–27.

[132] Miller, "From Conquerors to Martyrs," 77.

[133] Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed. The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 35, 42–43; K.R. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1565–1645* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979); B.W. Ball, *A Great Expectation-Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975).

[134] Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 97–124; id., *Austraea. The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century*, 119; Katalin Péter, "Der rosenkreuzerische Patriotismus. Die rosenkreuzerische Patriotismus. Die Verbreitung der Ideen der Rosenkreuzer in Mittel-und Osteuropa," in *Das Ende der Renaissance. Europäische Kultur um 1600*, eds. August Buck and Tibor Klanizay (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1987), 131–132; Giuseppe Cengiarotti, "Il Teatro del mondo: Comenio e la cultura praghese dell'età di Rudolfo II," *Studi Storici* 33 (1992): 810–811; R.J.W. Evans, *Rudolf II and his World: A Study in Intellectual History 1576–1612* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 280–281.

[135] Patterson, "The *Hortus Palatinus* at Heidelberg and the Reformation of the World," 67–104; Amy Tigner, "The Winter's Tale: Gardens and the Marvels of Transformation," *English Literary Renaissance* 36 (2006): 114–134.

even intended the *Winter's Tale* to promote reconciliation between Protestants and Catholics. In this sense, Shakespeare and other English writers who referred to the 'coast' of Bohemia were not geographically challenged; instead, they intentionally emphasized Bohemia as a religious utopia.[136]

Judging from the religiously charged political expectations associated with Frederick, it is easier to understand how Pavel Sessius, printer for the University of Prague and publisher of the astronomical works of Johannes Kepler, could publish a salutation for Frederick that was quasi-messianic in nature. A member of the old Bohemian noble family Kolovrat wrote the text of this single-leaf broadsheet that was intended to greet Frederick on his first arrival to Prague to accept the Bohemian crown.[137] In it, he proclaimed that Frederick was coming in order to heal Bohemia of its sickness, so that Bohemia could "rise, walk, and give what belongs to God and His kingdom."[138] Thus, the broadsheet presented Frederick as a physician who was able to cure the body politic, and it reflected the Rosicrucian adaptation of the Paracelsian conception of the physician as magus found in Marsilio Ficino's Neoplatonic philosophy.[139] The Rosicrucians were certainly interested in the Elias Artista who would usher in the Golden Age, as Anabaptists had been earlier.[140] Indeed, some hoped that Frederick was coming in the spirit of Elias.[141] Likewise, it should not be surprising that the printer for the University of Prague published this pamphlet. At

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[136] Alfred Thomas, *A Blessed Shore: England and Bohemia from Chaucer to Shakespeare* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 10, 168; for an examination of popular English perceptions of Bohemia through the ages see Derek Sayer, *The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

[137] Joachim Lybfteinf, Herr von Rollenratt auff Rabenstein…, *Pax et salus Bohemica* (Prague: 1619), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 30.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Trevor-Roper, "The Paracelsian Movement," 156, Ian Maclean, *Logic, Signs, and Nature in the Renaissance. The Case of Learned Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2002), 26.

[140] Walter Pagel, "The Paracelsian Elias Artista and the Alchemical Tradition," in *Kreatur und Kosmos. Internationale Beiträge zur Paracelsusforschung*, ed. Rosemarie Dilg-Frank (Stuttgart: Gustav Fischer, 1981), 6–19; Siegfrid Wollgast, "Zur Wirkungsgeschichte des Paracelsus im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," in *Resultate und Desiderate der Paracelsus-Forschung*, eds. Peter Dilg and Hartmut Rudolph (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993), 118–119.

[141] Herbert Breger, "*Elias Artista*: A Precursor of the Messiah in Natural Science," in *Nineteen Eighty-Four: Science between Utopia and Dystopia*, eds. Everett Mendelsohn and Helga Nowotny (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1984), 53.

this time, Utraquist scholars dominated the University of Prague, and their astronomers were frequently themselves medical doctors associating the human body with the celestial bodies.[142] Also, throughout the sixteenth century it was common for astronomers at the University of Prague to publish calendars that connected astronomical observations with prophecies. They did this in order to determine horoscopes for aristocratic patrons, who in return offered the professors greater social opportunities.[143] The comet of 1618 became the focus of numerous 'prophecies' associated with the Bohemian Revolt.[144] What made it even easier to associate the Midnight Lion myth with astronomy was the constellation of Leo. For example, Martin Bacháček of Nauměřice (1540–1612) was a friend of Kepler and professor at the University of Prague, who became ecstatic about the conjunction of Jupiter and the heart of Leo and quickly spread the word to students and professors.[145] In fact, Rosicrucian intensity peaked in 1623 with the conjunction set in the sign of Leo.[146]

The degree to which late Renaissance humanism could be religiously charged is made salient by comparing the Rosicrucian promoted lion motif in several illustrated broadsheets with another contemporary broadsheet. The latter broadsheet defended Frederick's rule by employing a story from pagan antiquity. In the broadsheet, Frederick played the role of the man who pulled out a thorn from a lion's paw, and who in turn received the loyalty of the lion—only in this case it was the Bohemian lion (see figure 4).[147] Thus, in contrast to the more numerous Rosicrucian broadsheets, the entire representation of Frederick 'healing' the sick lion in this broadsheet was done in a

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[142] Bořek Neškudka, "Astronomy and Astrology at Prague University before the Battle of White Mountain," *Acta Historica Astronomiae* 16 (2002): 388–392, 389.

[143] Neškudka, 388, 391; Findlen, *Possessing Nature*, 3.

[144] Vladimir Urbának, "The Comet of 1618: Eschatological Expectations and Political Prognostications during the Bohemian Revolt," in *Tycho Brahe and Prague: Crossroads of European Science*, eds. John Robert Christianson, et al. (Frankfurt a.M.: Harris Deutsch, 2002), 282–291; Robin Barnes, "Astrology and the Confessions in the Empire, c. 1550–1620," in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700*, ed. J. Headley, 131–154.

[145] Neškudka, 391.

[146] Åkerman, 242.

[147] Anon., *Abrieß deß Böhmischen Löwens langwiriger harter Betrangnüssen, Qual und Trübsal sampt angehengter Curation unnd Heilung* (n.p. n.d.), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 17.

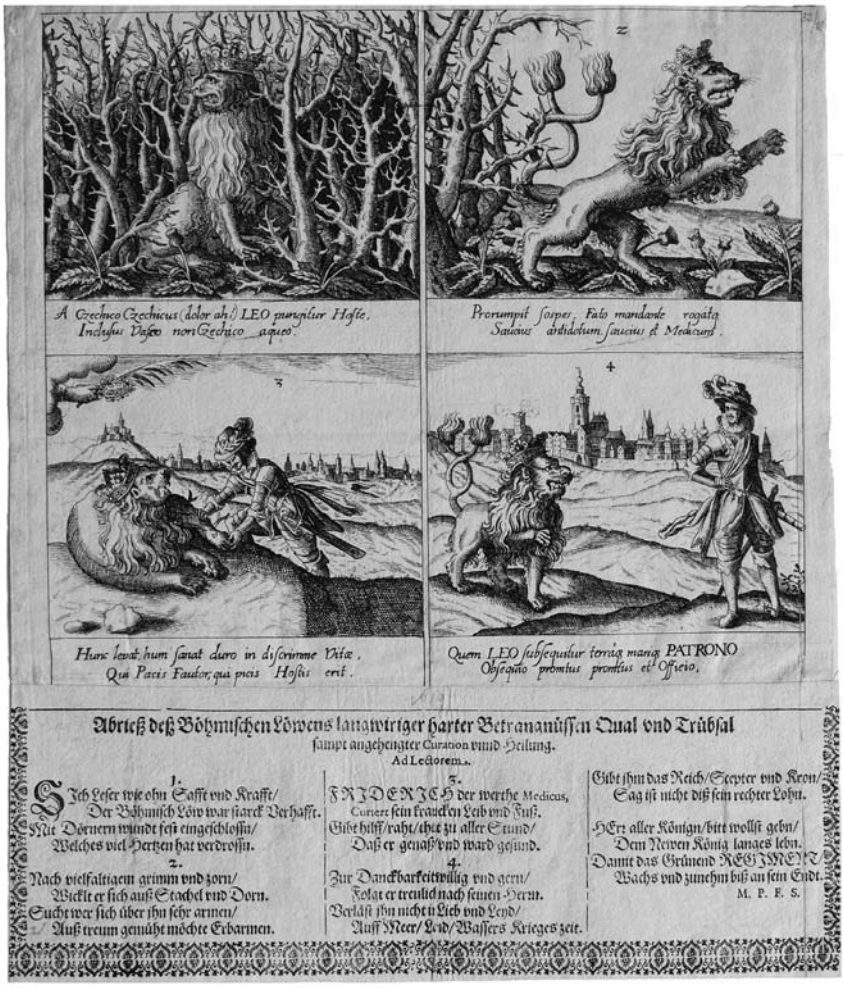
A Czechico Czechicus (dolor ah!) LEO pungitur Hoste,
Indutus Vaseo non Czechico aqueo.
Prorumpit Sospes, Fato mandante rogato
Saucius arbitrium saucius & Medicum.
Hunc levat hum sanat duro in discrimine Vitæ,
Qui Pacis Fautor, qua potest Hostis erit.
Quem LEO subsequitur terrâq; manuq; PATRONO
Obsequio promtus promtius et Officio.
Abrieß deß Böhmischen Löwens langwiriger harter Betrananüssen Qual vnd Trübsal
sampt angehengter Curation vnnd Heilung.
Ad Lectorem.
1.
Ich Leser wie ohn Safft vnd Krafft/
Der Böhmisch Löw war starck Verhafft.
Mit Dörnern wundt fest eingeschlossn/
Welches viel Hertzen hat verdrossn.
2.
Nach vielfaltigem grimm vnd zorn/
Wickelt er sich auff Stachel vnd Dorn.
Sucht wer sich über jhn sehr armen/
Auß treum gemüht möchte Erbarmen.
3.
FRIDERICH der werthe Medicus,
Curiert sein krancken Leib vnd Fuß.
Gibt hilff/raht/thet zu aller Stund/
Daß er genaß vnd ward gesund.
4.
Zur Danckbarkeit willig vnd gern/
Folgt er treulich nach seinen Herrn.
Verläßt jhn nicht in Lieb vnd Leyd/
Auff Meer/Leid/Wassers Krieges zeit.
Gibt jhm das Reich/Scepter vnd Kron/
Sag ist nicht diß sein rechter Lohn.
HErr aller Könign/bitt wollst gebn/
Dem Newen König langes lebn.
Damit das Grünend REGIMENT
Wachs vnd zunehm biß an sein Endt.
M. P. F. S.

Fig. 4. *Abrieß deß Böhmischen Löwens*. Anon. n.p. n.d. Courtesy of the City Archive of Prague

secular manner with Latin and German subtitles.[148] Indeed, patronage by the Wittelsbach dynasty after the Thirty Years' War offers a salient example of how chemical medicine could be secularized. For example, Johann Joachim Becher was not only a critical founder of the political science of Cameralism that associated economic welfare with that of

[148] Ibid.

the state, he had also served from 1664–1670 as the court doctor and mathematician for Ferdinand Maria, Elector of Bavaria. In this capacity and later, he used the nomenclature of chemistry and medicine in order to convince rulers in Central Europe that commerce was the best cure for the body politic.[149]

According to Bohemian Protestants at the time of Frederick, the 'sickness' that the body politic of Bohemia suffered was caused primarily by the Jesuits, who were upsetting the religious peace in Bohemia.[150] Although the Old-New Synagogue in Prague dates back to the thirteenth century, large-scale religious pluralism in Bohemia was a legacy of the Hussite era in the late Middle Ages.[151] In fact, the reign of Georg Poděbrady (1440–1471) was a transitional era in Bohemia from Catholicism to religious dualism since Bohemians designated him as "The King of Both Peoples" (Catholic and Utraquist).[152] Nevertheless, the Hussites did not easily abandon the medieval notion of religious unity- *corpus Christianum*- anymore than Catholics, as is evident with Georg Poděbrady's more familiar epithet "The Hussite King," but gradually both sides had to accept religious pluralism out of necessity.[153]

The impact of Lutheranism, Zwinglianism, and Anabaptism further increased the religious diversity in Bohemia and emboldened many Bohemians to resist the Catholic absolutist efforts of their first

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[149] Pamela Smith, "Curing the Body Politic: Chemistry and Commerce at Court, 1664–70," in *Patronage and Institutions*, ed. B. Moran, 195.

[150] Anon., *Das Gehsuwiderisch Pfaffen Schwarm* (n.p. n.d.), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 7; Anon., *Jesuitische Walfahrtsleistung*…(n.p. n.d.), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 8; Albert Kubišta, "Die Berufung des Jesuitenordens nach Böhmen und die Reaktionen der Gesellschaft darauf," paper delivered for the colloquium "Konfessionskonflikte, Kirchenstrukturen, Kulturwandel. Die Jesuiten im Reich nach 1556" at the Institut für Europäische Geschichte, Mainz Germany, Oct. 6, 2006.

[151] Eberhard Winfried, "The Political System and the Intellectual Traditions of the Bohemian Ständestaat from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century," in *Crown, Church, and Estates: Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, eds. R.J.W. Evans and T.V. Thomas (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), 34–41; J.K. Zeman, "The Rise of Religious Liberty in the Czech Reformation," *Central European History* 6 (1973): 132.

[152] Zeman, 137; Otakar Odložilík, *The Hussite King: Bohemia in European Affairs 1440–1471* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1965), 264–267; Frederick Heymann, *George of Bohemia. King of Heretics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 64–79.

[153] Zeman, 138–139; Jaroslav Panek, "The Question of Tolerance in Bohemia and Moravia in the Age of the Reformation," in *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, eds. O. Grell and B. Scribner, 232–233.

Habsburg king, Emperor Ferdinand I.[154] The rise of Calvinism brought a new twist into the picture and became very influential among the more 'radical' Hussite sect, the Bohemian Brethren. Tension in Prague between the Bohemian Brethren and the Habsburg dynasty became acute in the latter half of the sixteenth century, when many of the Bohemian Brethren began to seek support from Calvinist rulers in the West in order to resist Habsburg absolutist tendencies.[155] By the early seventeenth century, an 'international' Calvinist church in Prague sprang up with close ties to the Bohemian Brethren.[156] It was a long standing conflict between Jesuit and Protestant sponsored Renaissance humanism in Prague that led a number of the Bohemian Brethren to strengthen their associations with Protestant intellectuals in Western Europe such as Jacob Sturm in Strasbourg and Theodore Beza in Geneva.[157] A number of the Bohemian Brethren also began to study abroad at Calvinist universities such as Heidelberg, Geneva, and Leiden.[158]

The earliest contact between Czechs and the University of Heidelberg actually dates back to the late Middle Ages. The first Czech to obtain a doctorate at the University of Heidelberg was none other than Jerome of Prague who became an ardent supporter of Hus.[159] Nevertheless, during that period both halves of the Wittelsbach dynasty considered Hussites as heretics. For example, the Palatine Elector

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[154] David Zdeněk, "Utraquists, Lutherans, and the Bohemian Confession of 1575," *Church History* 68 (1999): 294–336; Zeman, 144–145; Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Ferdinand I of Austria: The Politics of Dynasticism in the Age of the Reformation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 142–143.

[155] Kalista Zdeněk, "Die katholische Reform von Hilarius bis zum Weißen Berg," in *Bohemia Sacra: Bohemia Sacra. Das Christentum in Böhmen, 973–1973*, ed. Ferdinand Seibt (Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag, 1974), 140.

[156] Nicolette Mout, "The International Calvinist Church of Prague, the Unity of Bretheren and Comenius 1609–1635," *Acta Comeniana* 4 (1979): 65–77.

[157] K. Zdeněk, 139–140; Albert Kubišta, "Jesuitische Polemiken gegen die Brüderunität: Kontroverstheologie in den böhmischen Ländern um 1600," *Acta Comeniana* 17 (2003): 117–135; John Patrick Donnely S.J. "Some Jesuit Counter-Reformation Strategies in East Central Europe 1550–1585," in *Politics, Religion & Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of Delamar Jensen*, ed. Arthur Slavin (Kirksville: Sixteenth-Century Journal Publishers, 1994), 83–94.

[158] Jaroslav Pánek, "Reisende aus Böhmen im Europa der Renaissance. Reisen als kultureller Faktor und als Katalysator der politischen Integration" *Bohemia* 32 (1991): 338–367; Joachim Bahlcke, *Regionalismus und Staatsintegration im Widerstreit. Die Länder der Böhmischen Krone im ersten Jahrhundert der Habsburgerherrschaft (1526–1619)* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1994), 282–300.

[159] Čechura, 40.

Ludwig III, along with theologians at the University of Heidelberg, was a zealous opponent of Wycliffe and Hussite doctrines and acted in consort with the Archbishop of Mainz as an inquisitorial court.[160] The transformation of these interactions since the Protestant Reformation was profound. In fact, the Palatine Elector Ottheinrich believed that his failure to produce a male heir was divine punishment for the actions of his ancestor, Ludwig III.[161]

The Calvinist Palatine Wittelsbachs and the Catholic Bavarian Wittelsbachs became significant sponsors of confessionalized humanism that interacted with the intellectual life in Bohemia.[162] This is evident by the end of the sixteenth century, when along with Basel and Geneva, the Palatine-promoted University of Heidelberg was the destination of most Bohemian and Moravian members of the Bohemian Brethren and Calvinists, while the majority of Bohemian and Moravian Catholics studied at the Bavarian supported University of Ingolstadt.[163] In fact, one of the most influential pedagogues of the seventeenth century was a member of the Bohemian Brethren and a former student at the University of Heidelberg, Jan Amos Comenius.[164] Besides 'study abroad,' there were also the Wechel publishers in Central Europe, who facilitated communication between Calvinists in Bohemia and their counterparts all over Europe. Indeed, the Wechel presses played an important role in confessionalizing humanism, and by doing so, they contributed significantly to the later Bohemian Revolt.[165]

Calvinist theoreticians, the Monarchomachs, with their claims of contractual kingship and right to revolution, offered both religious and intellectual legitimacy for the Bohemian Estates' resistance to Habsburg efforts of confessional absolutism. Monarchomach influence on many of the Bohemian Brethren acted as a catalyst for the

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[160] Kurt-Victor Selge, "Heidelberger Ketzerprozesse in der Frühzeit der hussitischen Revolution," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 82 (1971): 193.

[161] Wolfgang Metzger, "A Princely Bibliophile of the Reformation," paper presented at the annual meeting for the Renaissance Society of America cosponsored by the UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies and the J. Paul Getty Museum and Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, CA, March 2009.

[162] Jirí Hrubes, *Politické a nábozenské rozpory v Evrope v dobové publicistice 1590–1617* (Prague: Charles University, 1974), 64, 71, 98.

[163] Ibid., 350; Notker Hammerstein, "Vom 'Dritten Genf' zur Jesuiten-Universität," 39, 55.

[164] Herman Röhrs, "Die Studienzeit des Comenius in Heidelberg," in *Comenius. Erkennen-Glauben-Handeln. Internationales Comenius-Colloquium Herborn 1984*, ed. Klaus Schaller (Sankt Augustin: Hans Richarz, 1985), 30–37.

[165] R.J.W. Evans, *The Wechel Presses: Humanism and Calvinism in Central Europe 1572–1627* (Oxford: Past and Present, 1975), 52.

later 1619 constitutional change that allowed the Bohemian Estates to reject Ferdinand II and elect Frederick V as King of Bohemia.[166] Just two years before the Bohemian Estates rebelled against Ferdinand II, David Pareus, born in the Bohemian crown land of Silesia and later instructor at the University of Heidelberg, published a treatise which attempted to justify the Palatine Elector's resistance to the Emperor.[167] The connection between Heidelberg and Prague is also manifest in the person of Jan Cyril, who was an elder in the Bohemian Brethren and participated with the Utraquist administrator on Nov. 4 1619 to crown Frederick V as King of Bohemia.[168] Indeed, the Bohemian Estates chose Frederick because of his confessional connections to the Houses of Orange and Stuart, as well as his leadership position in the Protestant Union.[169]

The legal toleration of the Calvinist-influenced Bohemian Brethren, along with Lutherans and Lutheran-influenced New Utraquists, depended on the 1609 Letter of Majesty squeezed out of Rudolf II.[170] Ferdinand II, with the assistance and encouragement of the Jesuits, attempted to pursue more boldly a prince's prerogative under the Peace of Augsburg to determine the religion of his territories (*cuius regio, eius religio*).[171] Ferdinand II continued the policy of his earlier predecessors by buttressing his power with the support of the Catholic Church and the Catholic nobility, creating a triadic unity between the crown, church, and nobility.[172] An important part of this process was depriving the Protestants of 'cultural capital' by favoring Catholics in governmental and educational positions and confiscating rebellious Protestant nobles' estates.[173] However, in doing so, Ferdinand II

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[166] K. Zdeněk, 139–140; Bahlcke, *Regionalismus und Staatsintegration im Widerstreit*, 276–281.

[167] Graeme Murdock, *Beyond Calvin: The Intellectual, Political and Cultural World of Europe's Reformed Churches* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 73; id., "Moderation under Duress? Calvinist Irenicism in Early Seventeenth-Century Royal Hungary," in *Moderate Voices in the European Reformation*, eds. Luc Racaut and Alec Ryrie (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 184.

[168] Amadeo Molnár, "Der Hussitismus als christlicher Reformbewegung," in *Bohemia sacra*, ed. F. Seibt, 108.

[169] Josef Polišensky, *The Thirty Years' War* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1971), 130.

[170] Eberhard, "Ständepolitik und Konfession," 235; Pánek, "The Religious Question and the Political System of Bohemia before and after the Battle of White Mountain," in *Crown, Church and Estates*, eds. R.J.W. Evans and T.V. Thomas, 132.

[171] Pánek, "The Religious Question and the Political System of Bohemia," 132–134.

[172] R.J.W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy 1550–1700: An Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

[173] Karin J. MacHardy, *War, Religion and Court Patronage in Habsburg Austria.*

threatened to end the political power of the non-Catholic nobility, as well as the religious pluralism in Bohemia dating back to the late Middle Ages.

In his coronation acceptance letter, Frederick V explicitly stated that he intended to restore religious "equilibrium" in Bohemia.[174] That the Bohemian Estates hoped that Frederick would restore religious equilibrium is evident in an illustrated broadsheet depicting the image of a woman, representing peace, riding on a lion, the symbol of the Kingdom of Bohemia (see figure 5).[175] The woman was holding a chalice with her right hand (representing the Utraquist religion), and in her left hand she was holding the Monstrance (symbolizing the Roman Catholic Church). A man representing a Jesuit was stabbing the angel of peace and encouraging another man (symbolizing sincerity) to pull away the cloth on which the lion had been treading.[176] Lest there be any ambiguity concerning the meaning of this broadsheet, these figures, along with others, were labeled with descriptions in German as well as a discourse in Latin.[177]

The concerns over both the temporal and spiritual security of the non-Catholics were also echoed in the broadsheet commemorating Frederick's coronation: "Truly ye are grievously assaulted, plundered by the foe's host, your lands taken from you."[178] The author noted the interrelationship between secular and spiritual matters by stating that under Frederick their "possessions" would be multiplied, as had happened to the biblical Job.[179] Furthermore, the author also combined the message of hope enshrined in both the 'Palatine Myth' and the Rosicrucian myth. The author remarked that just as Wycliffe influenced Hus, so in the person of Elizabeth Stuart, the Anglo-Hussite heritage

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The Social and Cultural Dimensions of Political Interaction, 1521–1622 (Basingbroke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); James R. Palmitesa, "The Prague Uprising of 1611: Property, Politics, and Catholic Renewal in the Early Years of Habsburg Rule," *Central European History* 31 (1998): 299–328; Polišensky, *The Thirty Years War*, 112–113.

[174] Coronation acceptance letter of Friedrich V, Prague 28 October 1619, in *Quellen zur Vorgeschichte und zu den Anfängen des dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. Lorenz Gottfried, no. 67, 411.

[175] Anon., *Böhmische Friedenfahrt und was sich denckwürdiges darbey zugetragen hat* (Prague: 1618), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 6.

[176] Ibid.

[177] Ibid.

[178] Anon., *Currier* (n.p., 1619), in *Caricatures of the 'Winter King' of Bohemia*, ed. and trans. E.A. Beller, plate no. 1.

[179] Ibid.

Böhmische Friedenfahrt vnd was sich denckwürdiges darbey zugetragen hat.
QVid Leo, quid moderans vult Fœmina colla Leonis.
In cujus dextrâ Poclum, Monstrantia lævâ
Conspicienda? Leo Regni nota sueta Bohemi est:
Ausonij cultus index Monstrantia: Poclum
Est nota doctrinæ, primum quæ nacta nitorem
Humanas posuit fæces, figmentáque vana:
Fœmina, cui gestur Poclum & Monstrantia, Pacis
Symbolon est pulcræ. Nimirum cultus utérque:
Et quem septijugâ Latius præscripsit ab urbe
Præsul, quemque iterum divino Spiritus igne
Accendit: Verbi concors tellure Bohema
Temporis immenso tractu est exercitus. At quis
Substernit valido sua vestimenta Leoni?
Est Candor, sanctæ Pacis nutrixque parensque:
Candoris tamen ille premens vestigia quisnam?
Quid petit? Illius cur armat pugio lævam?
Est homini nomen tetro Æquivocatio. Monstri
Ecquid id? Immanes artes technæque cohortis,
Quæ sibi de JESU confinxit nomina falsô.
Hoc monstrum variâ quærit divellere fraude
Candorem ingenium, & Concordis munera Pacis.
Verùmen quàm JOVÆ vigilans sit cura, sceleftum
Quæ retrahit ferrum, ut careant successibus artes!
Est lanè pinnis Aquilæ concordia fulta
Hactenus umbriferis: Sed turba nefanda, Charontis
Tartarei fuasa, sceleratis funibus almam
Abreptam cupit à concordi pace volucrem,
Ut pateat diris sævi mucronibus hostis.
Efavita, Draco, Mamaluchus, membra cohortis
Sunt hujus: quibus adjunctum par, cujus apertus
Tartareus dolus est. Sed quid Mavortius ille
Fulmineum explodit telum? spoliare Leonem
Majestate cupit. Sed reddit fulmina vana
Excipiens pandente Leo sine vulnere rictu:
Hinc miles spumans alisnas nascitur aureis.
Ut tamen hæc in sana cohors Acherontia movere
Tentet, sub placidis Aquilæ Concordia pinnis
Ne lateat: Vindex se Jovæ dextera, ferrum
Gestans, ostendit: quæ detrahit ad Orcum
Hanc hominum fœcem Vulcano, grandinis imbre,
Et telis, quæ terra timet, pelagúsque profundum.
Hæc eadem exscindet, quotquot Concordiam amœnam
Florentémque statum Regnûm haut turbare vetentur:
Germanique DEI cultus delere nitorem
Nituntur. Vastum qui torquet Numine mundum,
Ridet & enervat fl. læ consomina turbæ.
Æneus hic Nobis murus: fremat orbis & Orcus.
Tu dic ex imis animi penetralibus, Amen.
Erklärung dieser Figur.
1 Der Lew deß Königreichs Böhmen Wappen/bedeut das Königreich. 2 Die Monstrantz/die Römische Catholische Religion sub una. 3 Der Kelch zeigt die Religion sub utraque. 4 Die Frawe ist der Friede/gibt zuverstehen/daß die beyden Religionen lange zeit in Böhmen friedlich gelebet worden. 5 Die Aufrichtigkeit/welche einig und allein den Edlen Frieden erhält/streitet dem großmütigen Lewen die Klender under. 6 Æquivocatio, das ist ein Meuchelmörderische Jesuiter/welcher durch seinen Dolch und Mordstich den Edlen Frieden/und alles aufrichtige Wesen unterthänig sich understehet. 7 Der Engel verhütet durch Gottes schickung den stich/und hält den Dolch/auff daß der Jesuiter seine bösen Stück nicht ins Werck richte. 8 Der Adler/das ist/der Römische Keyser/welcher allzeit zu beständigen Friede und Einigkeit geneigt gewesen/aber deß Teuffels Instigat halten jhn davon ab mit eitlen Sorgen und einsetzer Gewalt. 9 Der Herr Jesuit (muß allzeit vornen darein sein.) 10 Der Drach. 11 Der Mameluck. 12 Die Teuffelische Verrätherische adherenten. 13 Der Hellische Ohrenbläser und Rathgeber. 14 Der Soldat will den Edlen Lewen und sein Königreich brinnen/aber der Lewe sperret den rachen auff/stellet sich zur gegenwehr/und machet alle sein Fürnehmen zu Wasser/dasselb der Soldat lange Eichsporen bekompt/und mit sporn davon ziehen muß. 15 Die Hand mit dem bloßen Schwerdt zeiget an/daß Gott der gerechte Rächer nicht länger diesem Verrätherischem Wesen wolle zusehen/sondern die Rebellischer/welche den Frieden hassen/und diß edele Königreiche zu ruiniren gedencken/mit Hagel Donner und Blitz in abgrundt der Hellen stürtzen. Das verlephe Gott. Amen.

Fig. 5. *Böhmische Friedenfahrt*. Anon. Prague, 1618. Courtesy of the National Museum in Prague

would be rejuvenated.[180] Also, the eschatological connection between Frederick's rein was evident when the author stated that the ancient Sibyl had prophesied of Frederick's future rule.[181] This resonated with a chiliastic 'prophecy' that Plaustrarius published a year later in which he associated Frederick with late medieval prophecies connected with the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and Hus.[182] Furthermore, consonant with confessionalized mirror of prince literature, the broadsheet drew support from the Old Testament by referring to Frederick as a new King David who would protect the "Fatherland."[183] Ludwig Camerarius used the same metaphor of 'defending the Fatherland' to justify Frederick's actions in Bohemia.[184] Immediately after referring to Frederick as a new David, the author of the broadsheet depicted Frederick as following the divinely approved path of the late medieval Hussite leaders Jan Žižka and Georg Poděbrady, who defended God's truth with the sword.[185]

Catholics too made effective use of the illustrated broadsheet at this time to emphasize that not Frederick, but Ferdinand II was the true defender of Bohemia's religious tradition within the context of the Habsburg family myth, the *pietas austriaca*.[186] Catholicism could be attached with Bohemian identity just as easily as Hussitism. Indeed, Habsburg dynastic ties to Bohemia dated back to 1278 when Rudolf I of Habsburg defeated the Přemyslid king Otakar II at the Battle of Marchfeld and arranged marriages between the two houses.[187] One striking representative of the confessionalized nature of Bohemian kingship under Ferdinand II was an illustrated broadsheet comparing the betrayal of Jesus with the Bohemian Estates' revolt against Ferdinand II (see figure 6).[188] In it, Ferdinand II was kneeling in prayer

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[180] Ibid.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Gilly, "The Midnight Lion, the Eagle and the Antichrist," 53.
[183] Anon., *Currier*.
[184] Schmidt, *Vaterlandsliebe und Religionskonflikte*, 86.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Christine Bachmann, *Wahre vnd eygentliche Bildnus. Situationsbezogene Stilisierung historischer Personen auf illustrierten Flugblättern zwischen dem Ende des 15. und der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2002), 142–174.
[187] R.J.W. Evans, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Central Europe c. 1683–1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 77, 79.
[188] Anon., *Als keyserliche Maiystet vor Gott knient tet sein Gebet*…(n.p. n.d.), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 33. Editor also noticed the allusion to Matthew 26: 36–47 and mentions it on pages 14–16 in her introduction.

Als keyserliche Maistet
vor gott knient tet sein gebet.
Dauert im gleich als jamers trun
ein Engel mit Zepter und Cron.
Zu Regieren das Romisch Reich
In vogrer Bluem all Tag leich,
als flachs nemen der pfals graf fritz.
der hinter Nix mer ist Nutz
fragt er Schlierits bald vmb radt.
graf tilim Mansfelt vnd halber arm
Die sprachen nun ihr Bunsch wir wolln
spalten im Reich ein hasslon.
dem Keiser Krein die Behmisch Cron
Weil sein fürsten ir sanft schaffen
Schlierits sprach greift an die waffen
Drum seht ihr nur mein liber fritz
die pfals ist dir doch nichts mer Nutz
Holds sehe ab bald der liebe gott
vnd schlag Zu grunde die Bose Rott
des ihr ainhelig wegen get fort.
Sax
Schlierits
Tilim
Pfals

Fig. 6. *Als keyserliche Maistet vor Gott knient tet sein Gebet*… Anon. n.p. n.d. Courtesy of the National Museum in Prague

with most of the Electors of the Holy Roman Empire sleeping nearby. Off to the side was Abraham Scultetus, the Calvinist court preacher and advisor to Frederick V, holding a bag of money and encouraging Frederick to take his soldiers and seize the Bohemian crown.[189] Again, the accompanying rhymed text made certain that the allusion to the Passion of Jesus was unmistakable:

> You lads, now let transpire
> a passion in the Empire,
> We will steal the Bohemian crown
> and take it from the Emperor's keep
> because his princes sleep.[190]

It was not long before many of Frederick's own supporters in Bohemia also felt betrayed, as the more militant of the non-Catholic members of the Bohemian Estates joined with Frederick in an attempt to replace Habsburg Catholic confessionalization with an all-encompassing Protestant confessionalization.

[189] Ibid.
[190] Ibid.

CHAPTER SIX

IMAGE-BREAKING: ICONOCLASM AND IDENTITY CRISIS

Frederick began to support an all encompassing Protestant confessionalization with himself acting the part of a Calvinist Josiah and David. His support of this, as well as his attempt to establish a hereditary dynasty in Bohemia, clashed with Bohemia's late medieval inheritance of religious pluralism and elective kingship. The confrontation tarnished his image among many Bohemians and caused him to lose most of the cultural capital he had acquired in Bohemia. Indeed, this alienation ultimately led to his demise before armies gathered at White Mountain in 1620. This chapter focuses on these developments by first describing Frederick and company's constitutional treatment of Catholics, then his iconoclastic activates that infuriated both Catholics and Lutherans, and finally the conflict initiated by his desire to set up a hereditary monarchy in Bohemia.

The treatment of Catholics in the Confederation Act of 1619 reveals the impact of confessionalized humanism in Bohemia.[1] Jan Jessenius was a humanist who became Chancellor of the University of Prague in 1617 and an active participant in the revolt against Ferdinand II a year later. Besides his political activities, he had also published in 1614 an important treatise on political theory titled *Justifications against Tyrants*. At the time of the Bohemian Revolt in 1620, he edited it for a second edition published by Pavel Sessius, the printer for the University of Prague.[2] Jessenius's work was a defense for revolution against a tyrant, and he considered his opponent to be Jean Bodin, the champion of Absolutism. The Calvinist political theorists, Junius Brutus (pseudonym) and Johannes Althusius, wrote two treatises influential on Jessenius. For both Brutus and Althusius, only a Calvinist

[1] Stanislav Sousedík, "Jan Jesenský as the Ideologist of the Bohemian Estates-Revolt," *Acta Comeniana* 11 (1995): 29; Pánek, "The Religious Question and the Political System of Bohemia before and after the Battle of White Mountain," 141; Winfried Becker, "Ständestaat und Konfessionsbildung am Beispiel der böhmischen Konföderationsakte von 1619," in *Politik und Konfession*, ed. Dieter Albrecht (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1983), 94–96.

[2] Sousedík, 13.

ruler could be a good ruler.[3] A confessionalized notion of rulership was not uncommon in this era. For example, Catholic political theorists such as Giovanni Botero and Justus Lipsius, who were influential on Ferdinand II, argued that Catholicism was necessary for good government because it gave the ruler divine support, a sense of unity, and discipline within the state.[4]

The new constitution by the Bohemian Estates, the Confederation Act of 1619, reflected this confessionalized notion of rule.[5] Despite legal toleration for Catholics, it barred Catholics from all of the important offices of government: Catholics could not become the Burgrave of Prague, the chief scribe, presidents of the chamber or the court, as well as administrator of Prague Castle. Even in towns with Catholic majorities, the town council had to be divided evenly between Catholics and Protestants. Any Catholic who objected to this constitution could not get an office at all. Not only did it outlaw the Jesuits, but it did not allow for new orders to enter Bohemia. Thus, toleration for Catholics meant that they would be a subordinate group within the Confederation without equal rights.[6]

The Bohemian Estates justified rebellion against Ferdinand II by claiming that he had acted as if he were an absolute monarch, and they demanded the removal of the Jesuits because they blamed them for breaking the religious peace by encouraging Habsburg rulers to follow the Council of Trent's dictum that 'heretics' could not be loyal subjects.[7] However, once in power, the Protestant-dominated Estates and Frederick began their own version of confessionalized statecraft by denying access of 'cultural capital' to the Catholics. This was not only evident in the new constitution which banned Catholics from important offices, but also on a juridical level. At the time of ratification for the new constitution, the new government exiled all Catholics who disagreed with it and confiscated their property. Despite the Estates'

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[3] Sousedík, 14–17.

[4] Robert Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince:Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 231; id., "Ferdinand II. Founder of the Habsburg Monarchy," in *Crown, Church and Estates*, ed. R.J.W. Evans and T.V. Thomas, 234–235.

[5] Sousedík, 39.

[6] Ibid.; Becker, 94–96.

[7] Inge Auerbach, "The Bohemian Opposition, Poland-Lithuania and the Outbreak of the Thirty Years War," in *Crown, Church, and Estates*, eds., T.V. Thomas and R.J.W. Evans, 201.

claim for financial need, this confiscation of property for political dissent was exactly what the Habsburgs' had been doing to Protestant nobility for years and was expressly forbidden by the Estates' own law of 1608.[8] Indeed, there was significant continuity between pre and post White Mountain policies because the religious tensions in Bohemia were always concerned with access to power and privileges, not numerical superiority.[9]

According to surviving literary evidence, many Catholics and Protestants in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were shocked by the diversity of religious views in Bohemia and Moravia stemming from the Hussite Revolution. For example, in 1589 William Aragosius of Toulouise, a Huguenot refugee living in Basel, was dismayed when he observed the variety of sects that had been tolerated in Moravia and "corrupted" the teachings of Jan Hus.[10] Frederick V, also a Calvinist, was equally displeased with what he considered to be "idolatrous" images around Prague, especially those within and without the precincts of the royal chapel, St. Vitus Cathedral. Frederick was disgusted with the Catholics' habit of kneeling before the altar and the crucifix while in his presence at the church.[11] According to his court preacher, what disturbed Frederick the most was that his eldest son would become accustomed to these "pagan" practices if they were not eliminated.[12]

The controversy over devotional art in Czech society peaked with Frederick's rule. Although Jan Hus was not an iconoclast, the beginning of the Hussite revolt was a prominent period of image-breaking that went beyond the later Protestant Reformations' efforts. Nevertheless, iconoclastic activity declined considerably after the initial period of revolt.[13] Indeed, iconoclasm was not a major issue again in Bohemia

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[8] Pánek, "The Religious Question and the Political System of Bohemia before and after the Battle of White Mountain," 141.

[9] Ibid., 142.

[10] Ibid., 128–129, 142.

[11] Christine van Eickels, *Schlesien im Böhmischen Ständestaat. Voraussetzungen und Verlauf der böhmischen Revolution von 1618 in Schlesien* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994), 266.

[12] Abraham Scultetus, *Die Selbstbiographie des heidelberger Theologen und Hofpredigers Abraham Scultetus (1566–1624)*, 80.

[13] Howard Louthan, "Breaking Images and Building Bridges: The Making of Sacred Space in Early Modern Bohemia," in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 283; Karel Stejskal, "Ikonoklasmus českého středověku a jeho limity," *Umění* 48 (2000): 209.

until the arrival of radical Calvinism. Calvin felt that it was important for followers to demonstrate their inward belief through transforming all manifestations of culture into a 'godly' one, including art and architecture.[14] Calvin urged the orderly removal of images by magistrates, not image-breaking. However, in areas where Calvinists did not receive support from magistrates, such as France and the Lower Countries, spontaneous crowds of Calvinists attacked images in churches.[15]

Frederick V promoted official iconoclasm and the most famous example of all was the image-breaking that took place at St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague. The intellectual leader of this effort was Abraham Scultetus, Frederick's radical Calvinist court preacher and advisor. On October 15, 1619, the Directors handed over St. Vitus Cathedral to Frederick as his court church. Immediately, Scultetus directed efforts to transform the church into a Calvinist house of worship. He promptly dismissed the deans and canons of the church, and Frederick put guards around the cathedral. Frederick and Scultetus acted quickly so that the church would be ready for the coronation ceremony.[16] Frederick V's church order required the destruction of images, altars, and crucifixes in St. Vitus and instructions for a Calvinist Eucharist, where the participants themselves took of the bread and wine that was purely symbolic in nature. Furthermore, during the service no one was to kneel or make the sign of the cross. Frederick justified the ensuing destruction of altars, crucifixes, images, and graves within the church as acts necessary to protect the common people from exploitation and idolatry.[17]

Scultetus delivered his famous sermon on 22 of December 1619, declaring that the images in the cathedral were idols forbidden in Exodus 20:4–6. Already, a day before this sermon, the work had begun by taking down the imposing crucifix on the other side of the altar, disinterring St. John of Nepomuk's tomb, and ransacking the high altar by stripping it of its images and burning them in piles along with the bones of saints.[18]

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[14] Carlos Eire, *War against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship From Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 233.
[15] Louthan, "Breaking Images and Building Bridges," 284; Eire, 266–268.
[16] Louthan, "Breaking Images and Building Bridges," 284.
[17] van Eickels, 26–267.
[18] Louthan, "Breaking Images and Building Bridges," 284–286.

This state sponsored iconoclasm reflects the opposite confessional strategy that a Lutheran minister had recently employed in Prague. Perhaps Scultetus's criticism of Lutheran views of images in his sermon for the purging of St. Vitus was a direct response to the Little Quarter (Malá Strana) Lutherans in Prague who just a week before had brought into their pastoral church the Catholic altar painting "Verkündigung an Maria" by Hans von Aachen. Officials had taken it from the main Jesuit church in Prague, St. Salvator, and it was considered a model of Tridentine Marian veneration in art.[19] Once inside the Lutheran church, the pastor, Caspar Wagner, reconsecrated it on a Lutheran altar. Wagner used the consecration sermon as an opportunity to discuss the "proper" perspective on Mary and noted that the painting was a gift from Wilhelm Lobkowitz, an elder of the Bohemian Brethren, who had confiscated the church under the authority of the Bohemian Estates.[20] Not long after, Frederick appointed Lobkowitz as a high court official.[21] However, in contrast to Scultetus's 'purging' sermon, which was quickly put into press, the Directors did not allow the Consistory to print Wagner's sermon, in order to ease tensions between Lutherans and Calvinists in Prague. In the end, Wagner only managed to get it printed in Leipzig.[22]

It has been recently asserted that the 'purging' of St. Vitus was the exception to Frederick's religious policy because Frederick considered it his private chapel, and he later revoked orders to take down a prominent cross along the Charles Bridge since it would have provoked a public outcry.[23] However, the cross episode actually followed the pattern of previous failed attempts of the Wittelsbach Electoral Palatine branch to Calvinize the Lutheran Upper Palatinate.[24] When met with public resistance, Calvinist Wittelsbach rulers had the Lutheran churches in the Upper Palatinate 'purged' at night, and in fact, in the

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[19] Kai Wenzel, "Abgrenzung durch Annäherung-Überlegungen zu kirchenbau und Malerei in Prag im Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung." *Bohemia* 44 (2003): 29–66.

[20] Ibid.; for Lutheran perspectives on Mary, see Beth Kreitzer, *Reforming Mary. Changing Images of the Virgin Mary in Lutheran Sermons of the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Heal, 64–115.

[21] Wenzel, 50–59.

[22] Ibid., 66, footnote 22.

[23] Pursell, *The Winter King*, 95–96.

[24] Louthan, "Breaking Images and Building Bridges," 282–301; Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, 80–87; W. Troßbach, "Volkskultur und Gewissensnot: Zum Bilderstreit, in der 'Zweiten Reformation'" *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 23 (1996): 477.

end, the cross on the Charles Bridge did 'disappear' at night, despite Frederick's public revocation.[25]

Indeed, despite Frederick's public claims, many Bohemians believed that St. Vitus Cathedral was not simply a private chapel anymore than many Europeans thought that the Palace of Versailles was nothing more than the private residence of the king of France: both carried symbolic import that reached well beyond their material structures. In reality, St. Vitus cathedral has had an important association with the Czech people dating far back into the Middle Ages.[26]

Just like the coronation ceremony, the 'purging' of St. Vitus Cathedral represented significant changes that occurred to make Frederick a Protestant version of Charles IV. At the time of Charles IV, St. Vitus Cathedral had gained renown because of its quantity of relics that only contributed to Charles IV's legitimacy in the eyes of many of his contemporaries.[27] Likewise, just as with the abandonment of the mass in the coronation ceremony, the 'purging' of St. Vitus cathedral revealed the intimate relationship between the sacred and secular inherent in traditional Bohemian kingship. Indeed, linguistically this is evident with the Old Slavonic word *kněz* that means both "prince" and "priest."[28] The sacral association is also evident in the fact that all of the Bohemian rulers had their graves in St. Vitus Cathedral, except those from the Jagiellon dynasty.[29] The very placement of the sarcophagi of Bohemian kings within St. Vitus Cathedral indicates that Frederick could not escape this physical legacy of sacerdotal kingship every time he passed between the chapel and his court.

The geographical location of St. Vitus Cathedral contributed to its symbolic nature: St. Vitus Cathedral is situated on a hill. Just as the future Puritan governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, John Winthrop, knew that a "city on a hill cannot be hid," so too did the Calvinist court preacher Abraham Scultetus know that Frederick's actions would receive wide publicity. This is evident in his sermon justifying the 'purging' of St. Vitus cathedral which was translated into several languages,

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[25] Louthan, "Breaking Images and Building Bridges," 286–287.
[26] Čechura, 125.
[27] Johanna von Herzogenberg, "Heiligtümer und Schätze," in *Bohemia sacra*, ed. F. Seibt, 472.
[28] Viktor L. Kotrba, "Der Dom zu St. Veit in Prague," in *Bohemia sacra*, ed. F. Seibt, 511.
[29] Ibid., 537.

including English.[30] A considerable amount of the sermon was devoted to countering possible objections to this iconoclastic activity:

> I doubt not but that there are many, who will think it strange, which either now do see and behold, or shortly shall beare and understand, that the Altar and Images are removed and put out of this Church. For many men will perhaps thus thinke and say with themselves: That God might even as well have been served and honored through the Images: That also they were the common peoples Bookes and Bible: And that the Altar and Images did much adorne and beautifie the Church, which now (being distroyed of these Ornaments) seemes to bee bare and naked like a Wildernesse.[31]

Scultetus was confident that no righteous person would take offense over this 'cleansing' activity because the scriptures demonstrated "as cleer as the day light and bright Sun-shine" that the images needed to be destroyed. Indeed, he believed that it would be an example for the "godly" around the world: "But all godly minded people that doe see it, or shall heare of it, will spiritually much reioyce thereat, and be heartily thankfull for the same." He also knew that this action would also "offend" many, but he retorted that that the New Testament gave ample evidence that many people took offense at the teachings of Jesus.[32]

In an attempt to quell fears that Frederick would force his beliefs on others, Scultetus claimed that Frederick followed the maxim of the Emperor Maximilian II, who argued that a ruler does not have control over his subjects' consciences. In turn, it would have been unjust for Frederick's conscience to be offended in his own church. However, from all of these statements, it is clear that Scultetus knew that the church represented more than simply a private chapel. In fact, Scultetus was convinced that no God-fearing individual would feel that their conscience had been offended once they had the scriptures opened unto them:[33]

> Whosever therefore now (in the fear of God) truly thinks on all these things, hee will not at all be offended at the removing… And if yet there

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[30] Abraham Scultetus, *A Short Information, but agreeable vnto Scripture: of IDOL-IMAGES* (London, 1620). Rare book. Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com [accessed December 10, 2004].

[31] Ibid., 2.

[32] Ibid., 2–3.

[33] Ibid. 11–12.

> should perhaps be any, who hath not withstanding still some doubt and scruple in his minde, let him but please confidently come vnto us: and he shall with all love, mildness, and well befitting good resolution bee answered, and have more full information and satisfaction given vnto him by verses out of Gods Word.[34]

Judging from this sermon, it is clear that Scultetus believed that all objections to this Calvinist interpretation of images were not valid because the scriptures confirmed the Calvinist perspective; therefore, no good citizens would feel their consciences being suppressed once they saw the light.

In August of 1620, Scultetus had even claimed that Frederick had the power to replace Catholic priests with reformed priests if he so desired.[35] Although there is little evidence that Frederick ever acted on this council, the war consumed much of his time.[36] The grand speculative question is what would he have done if he had had more time and support? It appears that he would have continued the same efforts of Calvinist confessionalization that he and Scultetus had promoted in the Upper Palatinate and encouraged in Brandenburg. In fact, the attitude of Frederick and Scultetus towards St. Vitus Cathedral was strikingly similar to the advice given by them to the Elector of Brandenburg in 1614. Not only did Scultetus exhort the Brandenburg Elector, Johann Sigismund, to replace Lutherans with Calvinists in his administration, but Scultetus strongly pressed for the 'purging' of the Berlin Cathedral so that it could be a model for the new religion.[37]

Frederick's approval of Scultetus's iconoclasm reflects Frederick's attempt to fulfill the expected role of a Calvinist Josiah who would restore true worship, just as King Josiah had done for the Israelites in the Bible.[38] Frederick was following in the footsteps of his great-grandfather, Elector Frederick III, whose Calvinist ecclesiastical advisors referred to him as a new Josiah for introducing Calvinism into the Palatinate.[39] During the jubilee celebration of 1617 commemorating the beginning of the Protestant Reformation, Abraham Scultetus

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[34] Ibid.

[35] Gustav Adolf Benrath, "Abraham Scultetus (1566–1624)," in *Pfälzer Lebensbilder*, ed. Kurt Baumann (Speyer: Verlag der pfälzischen Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften in Speyer, 1970), 112.

[36] Pursell, *The Winter King*, 96.

[37] Nischan, *Prince, People, and Confession*, 115–116.

[38] See ch. 3, 4; Murdock, "The Importance of being Josiah," 1043–1059.

[39] See ch. 3; Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660*, 42.

delivered a sermon before Frederick V in which he compared his confessional efforts in the Palatinate with those of King Josiah who had purged the temple at Jerusalem. Indeed, the example of Josiah became a classic justification for Calvinist iconoclasm. Josiah's military success after purging the Kingdom of Israel from foreign cults, combined with eschatological expectations, encouraged Frederick, as well as other Calvinist princes, to engage in more militant and daring foreign policies.[40]

This also helps our understanding of Frederick's attitudes towards art not associated by Calvinists with images. Calvin himself viewed painting and sculpting as divinely inspired talents.[41] In fact, Frederick and Elizabeth employed a number of artists and artisans who were active at the Prague court since Rudolf II's time.[42] Actually, the majority of these had already either died or moved on before Frederick ever even entered Prague.[43] Frederick recognized the power of patronizing art to increase dynastic prestige just as much as the Medici and other upstart dynasties. Aesthetic, religious, and dynastic concerns determined the mediums, and for Frederick and Elizabeth that meant portraiture. Not surprisingly, their addition to the Hradčany was a commissioned portrait of themselves and their children as the new royal family. Likewise, they recognized both the commercial and the social value for their dynasty of what remained of Rudolf II's art collection. Indeed, it appears that Frederick was not pleased at all about a proposal by the Protestant-dominated Bohemian Estates that would have had most of the objects either sold or melted down and turned into coins in order to pay for their troops. From the Estates' perspective, objects were easier to regain than freedom once lost. Fortunately for Frederick, most of the valuable objects had already found new homes, so the proposal was never acted upon.[44]

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[40] Murdock, "The Importance of being Josiah," 1051–1055.

[41] William J. Bouwsma, *John Calvin. A Sixteenth Century Portrait* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 135.

[42] Eliška Fučíková, "Friedrich V. und die Prager Kunstsammlungen-anders gesehen," in *Der Winterkönig*, eds. P. Wolf, et al., 112–115.

[43] Thomas Da Costa Kaufmann, "War and Peace, Art and Destruction, Myth and Reality: Considerations on the Thirty Years' War in Relation to Art in (Central) Europe," in *1648: War and Peace in Europe*. Vol. 2. *Essays: Art and Culture*, eds. Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling, 166.

[44] Fučíková, 112–115.

The greatest difference between iconoclasm taking place in Bohemia under Frederick and that taking place in France and the Netherlands was the lack of popular support for Frederick's measures.[45] The state-sponsored iconoclastic activities, especially with St. Vitus Cathedral, drew great anger from Catholics and Lutherans alike from across the Holy Roman Empire. It also became a key element in weakening support for Frederick V among Bohemians, who viewed these activities as not a fulfillment of God's commands, but rather an attack on traditional Bohemian culture.[46] A similar reaction also occurred in certain regions of England during the Protestant Reformation.[47] One could say that the purging of St. Vitus Cathedral was the equivalent of offering tofu in lieu of turkey at an American Thanksgiving: some people like the idea, but many do not. Finally, this iconoclastic activity provided further stimulus for Catholic soldiers to treat the Battle of White Mountain as the opening of a holy war.[48]

A manuscript in the national archives in Prague reflects particularly well the sentiments of Catholics who remained in Prague in 1620.[49] The author referred to a Calvinist "conspiracy" to "exterminate" the Catholic Church in Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, and all other areas governed by the Habsburgs. Besides political rebellion against the Habsburgs, the manuscript mentioned the desecration of churches, tombs, and relics as evidence for this conspiracy.[50] Indeed, the intensity of iconoclasm in the Netherlands in the year 1566 had likewise prompted a conspiracy theory among Catholics against Calvinists at the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt.[51] Unfortunately, there are not many

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[45] Louthan, "Breaking Images and Building Bridges," 284–287.

[46] Ibid., 286–287; Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, 80–87.

[47] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars. Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005 reprint).

[48] Olivier Chaline, *La Bataille del Montagne Blanche (8 November 1620); un mystique chez les guerriers* (Paris: Éditions Noesis, 1999), 287; a classic example is the anonymous account *Relacion verdadeira de la grandiose victoria que la Cesarea Magestad del Emperador de Alemaña ha alcançado de los heregas el dia de Todos Santos*…(Barcelona, 1622), especially, p. 3. Rare book. Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT.

[49] Instititutio Societatis Cristiana, "Defensionis pro conservatione Religionis catholica domusqAustriaca contra conspirantis in exterminium éiusdem status Bohemia, Hungaria, Moravia, Silesia, aliosq principes in Germania, haereticos" (1620) SMR 109–3, in *Národní Archiv*, Prague.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Phyllis Mack Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands, 1544–1569* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 20.

details of Frederick's short rule in Prague from the Venetian ambassador reports, because Paulo Minio, the Venetian ambassador, avoided Prague like the plague on his return journey to Venice on October 20, 1620. He did so because he felt too vulnerable there due to the large presence of soldiers, including an increasing number of English troops.[52] Minio's successors for that year, Francesco Erizzo and Simon Contarini, emphasized in their report that the Bohemians were "heretics" who had rebelled against Ferdinand II.[53]

This frigid Venetian response to Frederick and the Bohemian Estates during this crucial year represents a failure in Frederick's diplomatic efforts to gain the support of the Venetian Republic. Indeed, from his acquisition of the Bohemian crown to his attempt to recover it and his own lands, Frederick tailored his appeals for support against Ferdinand II to suit a variety of confessional stripes, including Catholics.[54] To his fellow Protestants, he called for a holy war by claiming that his efforts were an attempt to prevent the Habsburgs and their Jesuit allies from destroying Protestantism in the Holy Roman Empire and setting up a Catholic Habsburg 'tyranny.' To Catholics, Frederick simply emphasized their shared concerns over Habsburg 'tyranny,' and to the Venetians in particular, the Habsburg threat against their own republican liberties.[55] Frederick's efforts demonstrate the continuance of Palatine foreign policy formulated by Christian von Anhalt, who had been in contact with the Venetians since the founding of the Protestant Union in 1608.[56] In fact, Venice was initially willing to consider joining an Anti-Habsburg alliance, despite serious concerns about joining forces with Protestant 'heretics.'[57] Anhalt's ambassador to

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[52] *Relazione di Germania de s. Polo Minio* 1620 9. November [day after White Mountain but actually written 16th of October 1620], in *Relazioni di ambasciatori veneti al senato*. Vol. 3. *Germania (1557–1654)*, ed. Luigi Firpo, 98.

[53] *Relazione [di] Germania [de] S. Francesco Erizzo (et) S. Simon Contarini*. 1620, in *Relazioni di ambasciatori veneti al senato*. Vol. 3. *Germania* (1557–1654), ed. Luigi Firpo, 105.

[54] Pursell, *The Winter King*, 84–86, 111–112, 126, 153, 230, 233.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Boris Ulianich, "Christoph von Dohna, Christian von Anhalt e la 'Istoria del Concilio Tridentino' di Paulo Sarpi" *AnnuariumHistoriae Conciliorum* 31 (1999): 367–426; id., "Il principe Christian von Anhalt e Paulo Sarpi: dalla missione veneziana del Dohna alla relazione Diodati (1608)," *Annuarium historiae Conciliorum* 8 (1976): 429–506.

[57] William J. Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty. Renaissance Values in the Age of the Counter Reformation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 506–507.

Venice had already been there several years earlier as part of his Grand Tour and distinctly admired the republican form of government in Venice.[58] However, the Venetians became less enthusiastic about joining the Protestant Union when they noticed that James I conducted a pacific foreign policy.[59] Considering the cool response by the Venetian ambassadors towards events in Prague, it seems that whatever hopes remained in a shared Renaissance notion of liberty with the Bohemian Estates was sacrificed on the altar of confessionalization.

Certainly not all of Frederick's alienation came from an intentional pursuit of confessional statecraft. Ignorance of Bohemian culture in a general sense also contributed to his loss of support from his Bohemian subjects.[60] First of all, there was a significant language barrier; neither Frederick nor Elizabeth could speak Czech.[61] Besides the obvious practical challenges this imposed, it also demonstrated how poorly prepared Frederick was to follow the footsteps of Charles IV, who was supposed to be Frederick's model for Bohemian kingship: in the Golden Bull of 1356, Charles IV had advocated that all the Electors learn the Czech language. Also, in contrast to the strong Spanish influence on Prague court culture, Frederick and Elisabeth attempted to live the far less somber French model of court culture in vogue at Heidelberg at the time.[62] In this respect, Frederick's Wittelsbach cousin and rival, Maximilian I, would have been far better prepared to rule Bohemia, because his father's dynastic ambitions made certain that Maximilian learned Czech as a youth, as well as visited the court of Rudolf II as part of his Grand Tour.[63] Although demonstrating such princely virtues as gregariousness and athleticism, Frederick also still acted like a callow youth at the time, whose demeanor often militated against the more traditionally accepted norms for regal behavior in Prague.[64] Elizabeth and her English attendants had already caused a stir in Heidelberg with their lifestyle. However, what caused a stir in Heidelberg was deemed scandalous by conservative citizens of Prague, who considered Elizabeth and her English court ladies' dress-

[58] Zwierlin, 77.
[59] Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty*, 507.
[60] Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, 80–87.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] See ch. 1; Albrecht, *Maximilian I. von Bayern 1573–1651*), 100, 115.
[64] Čechura, 10–11; for an emphasis on Frederick's favorable traits, see Pursell, "Elector Palatine Frederick V and the Question of Influence Revisited," 125.

ing standards as too permissive.[65] In this period, especially among zealous Calvinists across the globe, extravagant worldly dress among women was not just sexually dangerous but also equated with the sin of pride.[66]

Besides fashion concerns, Elizabeth's English ladies-in-waiting also managed to offend many local citizens by their behavior and ignorance of Catholic traditions. On one occasion, a number of prominent women in Prague had brought bread baked in the shape of a flower to the queen in commemoration of the name day for St. Elizabeth. The court ladies simply threw the consecrated bread back and forth and let a portion of it fall on the floor.[67] Even Pavel Skála ze Zhoře, who served as one of Frederick's court officials, later in his historical account of this period referred to the English ladies-in- waiting as "gossipy."[68]

Likewise, Elizabeth's very independent character did not set well with the more conservative local inhabitants.[69] For example, she stunned contemporaries with her hardy handshake.[70] Also, her correspondence indicates that she played a very active 'political' role in attempting to persuade her father into offering more assistance to the Bohemian cause and harnessing English support in general for her husband.[71] Elizabeth had to deal with similar challenges to female independence like her namesake, Queen Elizabeth I, as is evident in the numerous examples of Elizabeth Tudor's supporters attempting to accommodate a form of gynarchy within patriarchal expectations.[72] The classic Calvinist

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[65] Rosalind Marshall, "Elizabeth Stuart-die Winterkönigin," in *Der Winterkönig Friedrich von der Pfalz*, eds. P. Wolf, et al., 40; Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, 80–87.

[66] Martha Finch, "Fashions of Worldly Dames': Separatist Discourses of Dress in Early Modern London, Amsterdam, and Plymouth Colony." *Church History* 74 (2005): 494–533.

[67] Oman, 198–200.

[68] Skála ze Zhoře, , 205.

[69] Oman, 198–200.

[70] Marshall, 40.

[71] Elizabeth Stuart to Sir Thomas Rowe (June 19th 1620, Prague); Elizabeth Stuart to Charles, Prince of Wales (September 25th 1620 Prague); Elizabeth Stuart to Will Murray (October 14th 1620 Prague); Elizabeth Stuart to Will Murray (November 12th 1620 Prague), in *The Letters of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia*, ed. L.M. Baker (London: Bodley Head, 1953).

[72] Pamela Joseph Benson, "Rule, Virginia: Protestant Theories of Female Regiment in the Faerie Queen," *English Literary Renaissance* 15 (1985): 277–292; for the continuation of these concerns with Queen Mary II see Melinda Zook, "History's Mary: The Propagation of Queen Mary II, 1689–1694," in *Women and Sovereignty*, ed. Louise Olga Fradenburg (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992), 176.

response was to offer a role model from the Bible, Deborah. During her coronation, Elizabeth Tudor's supporters admonished her to follow the example of Deborah and be a "restorer of Israel."[73] Elizabeth Stuart's similar flamboyant personality as a consort simply did not square with general expectations in Prague anymore than Frederick's attempt to fit the bill as a new Josiah. An illustrated broadsheet depicting the Bohemian Lion "poodlized" reflected the resentment by many of her influence at court.[74] Indeed, there were many Prague citizens that longed for the last court steward, Hans Meinrad von Schönberg, who had died in 1616.[75]

Frederick's enemies exploited dissatisfaction with Elizabeth in a broadsheet by portraying this English influence as evidence that Frederick's dynasty was foreign and the cause for the present disorder in Bohemia.[76] This broadsheet was a satirical account of an Englishman, who came to Prague because he could find plenty of work chopping down churches with his axe. Just under the title was a reference to Psalms 74:6 "But now they breakdown the carved work thereof at once with axes and hammers" which referred to the destruction of the Lord's sanctuary. It depicted the Englishman as a fool who happily hewed down crucifixes, images, and altars.[77] The allusion to the 'purging' of St. Vitus Cathedral was obvious. Although the English element played into his enemies' hands, it was not as if Frederick needed any assistance from his English wife or her attendants to rile Prague society. Besides the 'purging' of St. Vitus, a spy for his cousin's court in Munich gleefully reported that Frederick had made a splash in Prague by bathing in the Vltava before the gates of Prague.[78]

Christmas in Prague in 1619 was one to be remembered, and it mirrored the intimate relationship between religion and traditional Bohemian court culture. Indeed, it became, like the 'purging' episode

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[73] Anne Mclaren, "Elizabeth I as Deborah: Biblical Typology, Prophecy and Political Power," in *Gender, Power and Privilege in Early Modern Europe*, eds. J. Munns and P. Richards, 91; Healey, 371–386.

[74] Anon., *Exulto, cauda et gaunita vocis adulor… V. Sichem fecit et excud* (n.p., n.d.), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 31.

[75] Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, 82.

[76] Anon., *Englischer Bickelhering, jetzo ein vornehmer Eysenhändeler, mit Axt, Beyl, Barten gen Prage jubilierende* (n.p., n.d.), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 32.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, 82.

at St. Vitus, a glaring example of how Frederick's attempt to impose a form of Calvinist confessionalization clashed with Bohemian traditions. Frederick shocked and deeply angered all those were not Calvinists or Calvinist-influenced Bohemian Brethren during the Christmas worship service at St. Vitus Cathedral by breaking the bread himself for the Eucharist. Many commented that it would have been impossible for God to bless this new king because of it.[79] This strong emotional response is understandable when one recognizes that Old and New Utraquists, Lutherans, and Catholics all considered the host to literally be the Lord's body in some form.[80] Indeed, one of the most heated religious controversies of the age between Calvinists and Lutherans had to do with the *fractio panis* (the breaking of the bread) during the performance of the Eucharist.[81] The public *fractio panis* by Calvinist princes in the Empire demonstrated a sign for confessional change because ceremonial acts and liturgy became visual symbols of confessional identity.[82]

Even the more irenic Heidelberg preacher David Pareus, who encouraged Calvinists to use Lutheran terminology as much as possible, emphasized that the breaking of the bread was a symbolic denial of the real presence.[83] Indeed, Frederick's actions followed those of his great-grandfather, Elector Frederick III, who demonstrated his inauguration of Calvinist confessionalization in his territories by breaking bread in the court church at Heidelberg in December of 1561.[84] Like the attempt to 'cleanse' Lutheran churches, popular resistance by Lutherans in the Upper Palatinate meant that the Upper Palatinate remained a mixed identity. Similarly, popular opposition by the

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[79] van Eickels, 267.

[80] For emotional response and the Eucharist, see Susan Karant-Nunn, "'Christians' Mourning and Lament Should not Be Like the Heathens'": The Suppression of Religious Emotion in the Reformation," in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700. Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan*, eds. John Headley, Hans Hillerbrand, and Anthony Papalas (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 122; see also Sabean, "Communion and Community: The Refusal to attend the Lord's Supper in the Sixteenth Century," 37–60.

[81] Bodo Nischan, "Ritual and Protestant Identity in Late Reformation Germany," In *Protestant History and Identity*, eds. B. Gordon and B. Nischan, 148–149.

[82] Ibid., 157.

[83] Nischan, "Ritual and Protestant Identity in Late Reformation Germany," 150; id., "The *Fractio Panis*: A Reformed Communion Practice in Late Reformation Germany," *Church History* 53 (1984), 113.

[84] Schilling, *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society*, 218; Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, 39–40.

Lutheran "common man" in 1613 in Brandenburg over the Reformed communion's introduction prevented a full-scale implementation there as well.[85] Also, just as Scultetus's advice to the Elector of Brandenburg in 1615 to 'cleanse' the Berlin Cathedral led to a popular riot,[86] so too Scultetus' advice to Frederick V caused a considerable amount of anger in Prague. By the end of December 1619, there was talk within The Hague of a failed attempt to murder Frederick.[87] Shortly thereafter, Frederick and his advisors decided it was high time to visit the other areas of his new realm.

January 1620 was the beginning of a new year, and perhaps also the best time for Frederick to turn a new leaf rather than wait for spring. Frederick had not yet performed his royal progress through the rest of the Bohemian crown lands, and until he did such, they did not technically owe him any allegiance.[88] On January 27, Frederick embarked on a homage procession through Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia. Frederick and his supporters considered it necessary to display as much royal splendor as possible so that his new subjects would be convinced that he had more financial resources than his Habsburg predecessor.[89]

Just as the royal progress towards Prague reflected the climax of Frederick's prestige, thanks in large measure to the Directors, and hence 'possession' in a Geertzian sense, so too does his later royal progress to the other crown lands reveal the slipping grip Frederick had over his new kingdom. The critical reason for urgency was his need for more internal financial support from the Protestant Estates to defend his new realm from the Habsburgs.[90] As part of his royal progress in Moravia, he visited an Anabaptist community and was impressed with their craftsmanship.[91] Recently, it has been argued that this visit was a clear sign that Frederick never intended to impose his confessional beliefs on any one in his new realm because Anabaptists were one of the most hated groups by most Protestants and Catholics.[92] It is cer-

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[85] Nischan, "Ritual and Protestant Identity in Late Reformation Germany," 156.
[86] Ibid., 157.
[87] Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, 82.
[88] Karl Bruchmann, *Die Huldigungsfahrt König Friedrichs I. von Böhmen (des "Winterkönigs") nach Mähren und Schlesien* (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1909), 1.
[89] Ibid., 2.
[90] Joachim Bahlcke, "Falcko-česke království (Motivy a pusobení zahraničněpolitické orientace Falce od české královské volby po ulmskou smlouvu 1619–1620)," in *Časopis Matice Moravské* 111 (1992): 227–251, esp. 245–246; Pursell, *The Winter King*, 97.
[91] Pursell, *The Winter King*, 10.
[92] Ibid., 93.

tainly true that throughout much of Europe, including the Palatinate, Anabaptists were not welcomed, but this was not the case in Moravia. Much to Ferdinand I's chagrin, the Moravian nobility began harboring Anabaptists for religious and economic reasons since the first refugees started pouring into Moravia in the sixteenth century.[93] Furthermore, despite the significant decrease in capital punishment inflicted on the Anabaptists in the Palatinate in the late sixteenth century as compared to Bavaria, most secular rulers—Protestant and Catholic—still considered them dangerous to public order.[94] Indeed, Anabaptists did not gain legal tolerance in the Palatinate until after the Thirty Years' War when Frederick's son, Elector Karl Ludwig, attempted to attract settlers in order to rebuild the devastated lands of the Palatinate.[95]

Frederick may have become enamored with the Anabaptists' craftsmanship, but the timing and context for Frederick's visit to this community indicate that the primary motivation for his encounter with them was to win over the Moravian nobility and assure them that he would not challenge their rights and customs. Indeed, Frederick's visits to the Anabaptists should likewise be seen in conjunction with his visit to a Catholic church during this latter royal progress. Both visits were an attempt to demonstrate that he would respect the religious freedoms and Estate privileges enshrined in the new constitution. He felt compelled to do this so that they would be willing to offer him the assistance he needed in order to rule.[96]

Unfortunately for Frederick, the propaganda presenting him as a restorer of the Hussite legacy could not be used as effectively in these other crown lands, particularly Silesia and Lusatia, because the Hussite movement was never as strong there as it had been in Bohemia proper.[97]

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[93] Zeman, 143–145; George Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1966), 670–672.

[94] Claus-Peter Clasen, *Anabaptism; A Social History, 1525–1618: Switzerland, Austria, Moravia, South and Central Germany* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972), 358–359, 372–373; for secular leaders' shared concerns, see also Sigrun Haude, *In the Shadow of "Savage Wolves": Anabaptist Münster and the German Reformation During the 1530's* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

[95] Volker Sellin, *Die Finanzpolitik Karl Ludwigs von der Pfalz. Staatswirtschaft im Wiederaufbau nach dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1978), 113.

[96] van Eickels, 281–282; Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, 82–86; although Pursell recognizes that the intention of this royal progress was to gain support for the coming war, he does not discuss the Anabaptist visit within this larger context, see Pursell, *The Winter King*, 97.

[97] Evans, *Austria, Hungary and the Habsburgs*, 80; Karen Lambrecht, "Communicating Europe to the Region: Breslau in the Age of the Renaissance." *German History* 20 (2002): 4.

Thus, Frederick lost much of the mystique attached to him during his royal progress in Bohemia. The loss of the Hussite mystique meant that Frederick was more dependent on display of secular and sacral images of kingship that were more generic in nature and originated from values shared by both Protestants and Catholics since the Renaissance. Although this could be unifying, it also begged the question of what made Frederick different than his Habsburg predecessors. A prominent example of this was his visit to Breslau. In Breslau, several of the epigraphs on a triumphal arch built for the occasion were actually recycled from what was used in Ferdinand II's royal progress in this region in 1617.[98] Thomas Sagittarius, the rector of the St. Elisabeth Gymnasium in Breslau, wrote the verses.[99] Saggitarius also wrote an epic poem for Frederick's visit that for the most part could have also easily been used for any Habsburg ruler. It consisted of 1,312 lines in Latin hexameter, but only about a dozen contained issues dealing uniquely with Frederick and his dynasty or anti-papal statements.[100] Saggitarius punctuated the majority of the poem with classical references of Muses in Olympia praising Frederick that could have easily been written for any ruler in Europe at the time. Even the admonition to follow the example of Charles IV by promoting harmony in the realm would certainly have been appropriate for any Habsburg on the Bohemian throne.[101] Indeed, the visits of many Habsburg rulers to Breslau resulted in a 'school' of Lutheran humanist poets that wrote praises for the Habsburg emperors in the early modern era.[102] Thus, it is not surprising that during this same time, Frederick welcomed the visit of Christoph Kotter in order to revive some of his former magic: Christoph Kotter was an important propagator of the Rosicrucian myth that associated Frederick with the prophecy of the Midnight Lion.[103]

Frederick also visited a number of Protestant churches during his progress as a means of displaying solidarity, but these same visits

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[98] Bruchmann, 28.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Thomas Saggitarius, *Oratio historico-poetica Fridericvm Regem Bohemorum* (Breslau, 1620), 8, 31, 34, 39–40. Rare book. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

[101] Ibid., 22.

[102] Manfred Fleischer, *Späthumanismus in Schlesian. Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Munich: Delp'sche Verlag, 1984), 4–5.

[103] see ch. 5; Gilly, "The 'Midnight Lion," the "Eagle" and the "Antichrist," 56.

were often interrupted by events that questioned Frederick's fundamental ability to fulfill a king's duty since the Middle Ages: to protect his realm and keep the peace. For example, Frederick already faced challenges to his legitimacy in Bohemia while he was on his progress through Moravia and Silesia.[104] This occurred when Frederick was supposed to act as an arbitrator over an inheritance dispute between the Wartenberg and Slavata families. Frederick had decided in favor of the Slavata family. However, when the royal commission came to hand over the disputed castle and town of Gitschin to the Slavata family, the Lady of Wartenburg refused to leave and surrounded the place with armed followers. Following a gunpowder mistake, half of the castle blew up and the leaders of both families as well as most of the king's commission died.[105] The news of this event reached Frederick, while he was attending a festive religious service prepared for him by the Lutheran community in Moravia as part of his royal progress.[106] In Silesia, Frederick had hoped to arrange a meeting with the Elector of Saxony, but the Elector declined because he was "too busy." Likewise, Frederick was also not able to prevent the Cossacks from penetrating the border and wreaking havoc during his royal progress.[107] Frederick also had to send a representative for the oath-swearing ceremony in Lower Lusatia, because he needed to return to Prague in preparation for war.[108] Indeed, because of the exigencies of war, Frederick never did symbolically or literally finish his royal progress, and concomitantly, his hold over the land.

To be sure, many swore oaths during the progress to support Frederick militarily and financially, but ominously, one of the most respected leaders of the Moravian Estates, Count Karel the Elder of Žerotin, a member of the Bohemian Brethren, was notably absent during the homage ceremony in Moravia. His excuse was that he could not break his oath he had made to Ferdinand II.[109] Žerotin from the beginning of the revolt had warned that military resistance to Ferdinand II was not justifiable until all peaceful means at compromise

[104] Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, 86.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Bruchmann, 12.
[107] van Eickels, 306.
[108] Bruchman, 96–97.
[109] Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, 86.

had been exhausted.[110] Furthermore, most members of the Estates in both Moravia and Silesia were willing to give Frederick only enough financial and military support as necessary for Frederick to defend the kingdom against the Habsburgs. However, their first priority was the maintenance of their own independence.[111] In fact, even earlier Pope Clement VII had attempted to use the Catholic branch of the Wittelsbach dynasty as a counterweight to Habsburg hegemony. He had done this when he supported Duke Wilhelm V's candidacy for the Bohemian throne over Ferdinand I just before the Battle of Mohács in 1526.[112]

Frederick managed to lose considerable support from the Bohemian Estates as his own attempts to establish himself as a territorial prince conflicted with their cherished notion of elective kingship dating back to the Jagiellon dynasty in the late Middle Ages.[113] The Bohemian confederates did not appeal for help to the Polish Estates with the argument of religious freedom, but instead emphasized the liberty of the Estates. What they had in common was the legacy of the Jagiellon dynasty in which the rule of nobility was guaranteed by the election of weak kings.[114] Lawyers for the Estates and the Habsburgs had already taken up the dispute over the elective or hereditary nature of the Bohemian crown.[115] There was certainly a degree of exaggeration between the theoretical claims of free election by the Bohemian Estates and reality.[116] The Estates borrowed from Procopius the Great, Cosmas of Prague, Bodin, and the Polish historian Marcin Kromer, who claimed that since the ancient days of Čech and Lech (ancestors of the Bohemians and Poles) kings had always been elected. However, even without Čech and Lech, the Jagiellon legacy was strong enough

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[110] Radek Fukala, "The Political Programme of Karel the Elder of Žerotín," *Acta Comeniana* 14 (2000): 39.

[111] van Eickels, 307; Joachim Bahlcke, "Wird 'Behemb ein Hollendisch goubernament'? Das böhmisch-pfälzische Staatsgründungsexperiment in europäischer Perspective," in *Der Winterkönig*, eds. P. Wolf, et al., 94–100.

[112] K. Zdeněk, 130.

[113] Inge Auerbach, "The Bohemian Opposition, Poland-Lithuania and the Outbreak of the Thirty Years War," 196–210; Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, 87.

[114] Auerbach, 196–197; Jaroslav Pánek, "Friedrich V. von der Pfalz als König von Böhmen," in *Der Winterkönig Friedrich von der Pfalz*, eds. P. Wolf, et al., 101–103.

[115] Auerbach, 200.

[116] Jaroslav Pánek, "Ferdinand I.—der Schöpfer des politischen Programms der österreichischen Habsburger?," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1620 bis 1740. Leistungen und Grenzen des Absolutismusparadigmas*, eds. Petr Mat'a and Thomas Winkelbauer (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006), 66.

that contemporary Italians even considered Bohemia, Hungary and Poland as elective monarchies.[117]

Although Frederick appears to have generally respected the new Bohemian constitution,[118] he did pressure the Estates into recognizing his son, Frederick Henry, as his heir.[119] In his history of this period, Frederick's former court official, Pavel Skála ze Zhoře, gave extensive details of the ceremony designating Frederick Henry as the future heir, including a description of the prayer offered by the Burgrave in the name of the Trinity, asking for a blessing to be upon Frederick Henry.[120] Skála also described Frederick Henry as being noble and possessing heroic virtues.[121] After the ceremony, bells rang in St. Vitus cathedral; there was singing of Psalms 42, and Scultetus delivered a sermon based on the text of 2 Samuel Chapter 7 Verse 12.[122] This verse, describing the posterity of king David, expressed the quintessential union between dynasty and church that the confessionalization process attempted to develop: "And when thy days be fulfilled, and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, I will set up thy seed after thee, which shall proceed out of thy bowels, and I will establish his kingdom."

Just as with his religious policies, once in power, Frederick pursued those arguments that most favored his dynastic interest within this confessionalized context. This combination of religious legitimacy and dynastic advancement is one of the core elements of the confessionalization process. For example, Frederick and his closest allies argued that the present circumstances constituted an emergency case which Article 23 of the Confederation allowed as the only exception to the prohibition of designating an heir when the present king was living.[123] Concomitantly, they argued that this action would also encourage James I to support their cause.[124] However, during the Imperial diet to determine if Ferdinand II should be elected Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick and the Palatine delegation had attempted to persuade the

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[117] Auerbach, 200; Joachim Bahlcke, "*Corona, corpus, constitutio, confoederatio.* Verfassungsideen und Politikmodelle im spätmittelalterlich-frühneuzeitlichen Böhmen," *Mitteilung des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 113 (2005): 96–97, 106–107.

[118] van Eickels, 262–263.

[119] Auerbach, 196–210.

[120] Skála ze Zhoře, 258.

[121] Ibid., 259.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Ibid., 252.

[124] Ibid., 256.

electors of the danger of Habsburg tyranny and their threat to free election.[125] As proof of this threat, Frederick and company asserted that the Habsburgs were using the kingship of Bohemia as a "stepping-stone" to the Imperial crown, and that Emperor Mathias had already claimed it as a legal precedent for hereditary descent.[126] Indeed, the inconsistency between Frederick's and his advisor Camerarius's championing the concept of free election for the Holy Roman Emperorship, but assuming that the Bohemian Estates would approve of appointing Frederick's son as heir was not lost on the Estates.[127] Frederick also attempted to handle all of his diplomatic affairs without the Estates when dealing with Gábor Bethlen. This Transylvanian prince initially allied himself with Frederick against the Habsburgs in order to gain the Hungarian crown. Frederick's action was a direct violation of the Bohemian Confederation Act of 1619, which required Frederick to work with the Estates in negotiations with other members of the Confederation.[128]

When Elizabeth gave birth to a son in Prague that December, Frederick's remaining supporters viewed it as a sign of divine favor, and Elizabeth and Frederick named the child "Ruprecht" with Gábor Bethlen acting as godfather.[129] Godparents were intended to strengthen family ties through spiritual kinship.[130] Bethlen actually sent his emissary Count Imre Thurzó to represent him at the ceremony. Thurzó, among other gifts, offered Frederick a white Asiatic horse from Hungary with beautiful oriental trappings.[131] Likewise, the ceremony involved Thurzó holding the child, while the count himself was clad in full armor.[132] The medieval and oriental mystique was part of the trappings of this confessionally congenial arrangement between two Calvinist princes with regal claims at Habsburg expense. Despite the armor, it should be remembered that Count Thurzó was the honorary

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[125] Pursell, *The Winter King*, 71.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Auerbach, 196–210.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Pursell, *The Winter King*, 102.
[130] John Bossy, "Blood and Baptism: Kinship, Community and Christianity in Western Europe from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries," *Studies in Church History* 10 (1973): 132–133.
[131] Maria Krisztinkovich, "Prince Rupert, Godson of Gábor Bethlen," *Hungarian Studies Review* 13 (1986): 12–13; Skála ze Zhoře, 236.
[132] Kriszstinkovich, 13.

chancellor of the University of Wittenberg as well as the author of a number of Latin rhetorical works.[133]

By naming him "Ruprecht," it also became more evident that Frederick intended to establish a hereditary dynasty that threatened the elective nature of the monarchy, even though Frederick had promised to maintain this status when he accepted the crown. Indeed, by giving his son the programmatic name of "Ruprecht," Frederick had hopes to use the Bohemian throne as a dynastic stepping stone for the emperorship, just like the Habsburgs had done.[134] "Ruprecht" was the name of the last Palatine Wittelsbach to rule the Holy Roman Empire as King of the Germans, and he did so in the late Middle Ages (1400–1410). Perhaps the christening of Ruprecht was not accompanied by the customary celebratory text because his supporters feared that his name would bring back unhappy memories of the first Ruprecht.[135] The election of Ruprecht as King of the Germans in 1400 meant that Wittelsbach success came at the detriment of the Luxembourgs descending from Charles IV.[136] Nevertheless, an important Wittelsbach dynastic legacy managed to survive the "purging" of St. Vitus Cathedral: the relief depiction of the Wittelsbach coat of arms adorning the portrait of Anne of the Palatinate, the second wife of Charles IV. An artisan made it in the studio of Peter Parler, whose works still serve as visual memorials of this "Golden Age" in Prague.[137] Frederick's staunch supporters attempted to portray his son Ruprecht as indigenous.[138] By being born in Prague, he was strictly speaking 'native.' They also emphasized that he would learn the Czech language and soon be able to utter "*Bázeň Páně jest počátek moudrosti*" which translates as "fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," a biblical phrase from Proverbs that was frequently invoked in mirror of prince literature in this era.[139]

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[133] Ibid.

[134] Duchhardt, *Protestantisches Kaisertum und Altes Reich*, 136–138; Pursell, *The Winter King*, 102; Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, 83; Čechura, 118–119.

[135] Čechura, 118–119.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Wilhelm Volkert, "Die Bilder in den Wappen der Wittelsbacher," in *Wittelsbach und Bayern*, vol. 1 *Die Zeit der frühen Herzöge von Otto I. zu Ludwig dem Bayern*, ed. H. Glaser (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1980), 16.

[138] Skála ze Zhoře, 256.

[139] Ibid.

As the historian Peter Moraw notes, besides kinship, Frederick and his ancestor were also alike by leaping at dynastic opportunities without keeping all of the support needed to sustain them.[140] Although Frederick was not ignorant of his own dynasty's potential manifest in Ruprecht's rule in the late Middle Ages, he failed to recognize how his family's dynastic ambitions clashed with the late medieval legacies of religious pluralism and elective monarchy in Bohemia. Thus, Frederick's ship of state in Bohemia, like the Titanic, began to crash against an iceberg whose depths in the late medieval past he never fathomed.

Ultimately, he paid for his policies with the loss of the Bohemian crown and his own hereditary lands before the Battle of White Mountain in 1620, a battle which he did not participate in because he lacked military experience. Quickly following the Battle of White Mountain, Frederick and his advisors finally decided against making a stand in Prague because they feared that they would not get enough support from either the citizens or the soldiers.[141] Instead, Frederick fled to Silesia with hopes of regrouping, but within only two hours after White Mountain, the Bohemian Estates had surrendered.[142] Following their surrender, Frederick had a far more difficult time requesting the Estates to retrieve his crown, scepter, and orb that he had left behind in Prague during his hasty flight to Silesia.

It may be that Silesia appeared more welcoming to Frederick because he spent less time there than in Prague, and the Silesians were more willing to accept a hereditary dynasty. For example, Ferdinand I had already adroitly exploited both religious and regional resentment within the crown lands, culminating in the compliance of the Silesian and Lusatian Estates to declare the Habsburgs as hereditary monarchs.[143] The logistical difficulties involved in Frederick's attempt to govern both the Palatinate and Bohemia were also daunting. After all, he had previously ruled over a considerably smaller, less populated, more centralized and, except for the Upper Palatinate, confessionally more homogenous territory.[144] Likewise, many of his

[140] Peter Moraw, "Ruprecht von der Pfalz-ein König aus Heidelberg," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 149 (2001): 102.
[141] Pursell, *The Winter King*, 115; Polišenský, *Tragic Triangle*, 228–229.
[142] Pursell, *The Winter King*, 115.
[143] Evans, *Austria, Hungary and the Habsburgs. Essays on Central Europe, c.1683–1867*, 80.
[144] Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, 81.

supporters within and without the Protestant Union, who encouraged him in the Bohemian adventure, never delivered on their promises for military assistance.[145] Furthermore, Gábor Bethlen's attempt to unite Hungarian troops with the Bohemian military in order to defend Prague was thwarted by Bethlen's own chancellor Simon Péchi.[146] Nevertheless, it was Frederick's alienation of many members of the Bohemian Estates, and his attempt to rule without the king-makers that left Frederick without all the Bohemian support he needed at the time of White Mountain. In marked contrast to the resilient defense of the city by many of its inhabitants against the Swedes in 1648, the quick surrender of Prague in 1620 was a reflection of Frederick's alienation.[147] Perhaps one contemporary satirical song really did describe Frederick's situation best with the lines "A Winter King I must be, I wanted to fly without feathers."[148]

An illustrated broadsheet following the Battle of White Mountain depicted the court cook in Prague all alone in the kitchen waiting impatiently for Frederick and his company to arrive for the banquet he had prepared (see figure 7).[149] Through the window one could see the Battle of White Mountain taking place, and in the end, the cook realized that he must prepare his meal for another who had just come from Bavaria.[150] The allusion to the victor of White Mountain, Frederick's Wittelsbach cousin and rival, Maximilian I, was manifest. Maximilian and his general Tilly had led the army of the Catholic League into the battle against Frederick's troops. What will be illuminated in the final two chapters is how the Battle of White Mountain set the Wittelsbach courts into transition. They will also elaborate how this transition had important cultural and political ramifications for not just the Palatinate and Bavaria, but for Europe and North America as well.

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[145] Pursell, *The Winter King*, 108.

[146] István Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities in East-Central Europe: Ethnic Diversity, Denominational Plurality, and Corporative Politics in the Principality of Transylvania (1526–1691)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2009), 172.

[147] Chaline, *La bataille de la montagne blanche*, 401.

[148] Anon., "Calvinifcher Ruef vor deß Sculteten," in *Die historisch-politischen Volkslieder des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*, eds. F.W. von Ditfurth and K. Barsch (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1882), 20–22.

[149] Anon., *Pragerische Hofkoch vom Wintermonat anno 1620. (n.p., 1621)*, in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 60.

[150] Ibid.

Fig. 7. *Pragerische Hofkoch vom Wintermonat anno 1620*. Anon. n.p., 1621. Courtesy of the National Museum in Prague

CHAPTER SEVEN

CLARION CALLS: WHITE MOUNTAIN AND WITTELSBACH LEGITIMACY

The historian Ferdinand Seibt once wrote that the Battle of White Mountain was probably the shortest battle in Czech history, but also the one with the greatest long-term impact.[1] It served as a catalyst for a 'Golden Age' of Catholic Baroque culture.[2] Likewise, the 'Golden Age' of Jewish Prague received a significant boost when Ferdinand II rewarded their loyalty throughout the Thirty Years' War with confiscated rebel resources, just as he did for his other loyal supporters.[3] However, White Mountain also meant the end of religious and its concomitant cultural diversity that had characterized Bohemia since the late Middle Ages.[4] Persuasion, negotiation, and coercion worked in tandem to make this transformation possible.[5] On November 10, 1622, Emperor Ferdinand II declared the union of the University of Prague and the Jesuit College.[6] The revised land ordinance of 1627 (*Verneuerte Landesordnung*) was also a key document for confessionalization because it made Catholicism the only legally tolerated religion in Bohemia, and Ferdinand gave the Jesuits control over censorship, schools, and the University of Prague.[7] Ferdinand II's

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[1] Ferdinand Seibt, "Kirche und Gesellschaft von den Anfängen bis zum Ende der Monarchie," in *Bohemia sacra*, ed. F. Seibt, 22; see also Josef Petráň, "Le mythe de la Montagne Blanche," in *Enjeux de l'histoire en Europe*, eds. Maria Élizabeth Ducreux and Antoin Marés (Paris: Harmattan, 2002), 15–49.

[2] Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 311–345.

[3] Jonathan Israel, "Central European Jewry during the Thirty Years' War," *Central European History* 16 (1983): 10–11, 26–27.

[4] Ivan Hlaváček, "Kirchen, Klöster und Bibliotheken bis zum 17. Jahrhundert," in *Bohemia sacra*, ed. F. Seibt, 405; Maria Élizabeth Ducreux, "La Reconquête catholique de l'espace bohemian," *Revue des études slaves* 60 (1988): 685–702.

[5] Howard Louthan, ch. 2 "Severed Heads and Holy Bones: Authority and Culture in Post-White Mountain Bohemia," in his work *Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 16–46.

[6] Hlaváček, 405.

[7] Plaggenborg, 6; Peter Vorel, "Die Außenbeziehungen der böhmischen Stände um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts und das Problem der Konfessionalisierung," in *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa: Wirkung des religiösen Wandels im 16. und*

post White Mountain policies were predicated on his understanding of his legal rights. Thus, Ferdinand believed that the Bohemian and Upper Austrian Estates had forfeited their rights through rebellion. However, in Inner and Lower Austria, he respected their legal traditions precisely because they had not rebelled.[8] Although the Bohemian crown became indisputably hereditary, Ferdinand II still needed the Estates for administrative purposes and his form of Catholic confessional absolutism continued to rest on the triadic pillars of crown, church and aristocracy. Indeed, the 'purging' of the Protestant-Hussite dominated Estates with Catholic aristocrats actually enabled the newly constituted Estates to acquire more power over the purse than the Estates enjoyed before White Mountain.[9]

In many ways, Frederick V and the Protestants of the Lower and Upper Palatinates experienced the same fate as Bohemia and Moravia following their defeat at White Mountain: exile and Catholic confessionalization imposed by the Emperor's allies, especially Frederick's cousin Maximilian of Bavaria. An example of the shared experience is exemplified in the career of Jan Jessenius. Jessenius was the former physician of Rudolf II from Transylvania and rector of the University of Prague since 1617. In 1619, he had published a treatise concerning the renewal of the University of Prague.[10] However, his aspirations were soon to be shattered because this was the same Jessenius who was involved in the resistance movement against the Habsburgs that included a Monarchomach political treatise serving as justification for the Bohemian Revolt. He had also served as Frederick V's ambassador for Bohemia at the court of Gábor Bethlen, and in this capacity had sought to strengthen a military alliance against the Catholic League by seeking Turkish support. Following the Battle of White Mountain, Ferdinand II had him as well as other key leaders of the Bohemian Revolt executed along Charles Bridge in 1621.[11]

Frederick was fortunate enough to have escaped, but he did lose his elector title and lands to his cousin and rival Maximilian of Bavaria, and he was forced to create a court-in-exile at The Hague. Only with

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17. Jahrhundert in Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur, eds. Joachim Bahlcke and Arno Strohmeyer (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1999), 169–178, esp. 177–178.

[8] Bireley, "Ferdinand II. Founder of the Habsburg Monarchy," 230.

[9] Evans, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs*, 87–88.

[10] Joseph Hemmerle, "Die Prager Universität in der neuren Zeit," in *Bohemia sacra*, ed. F. Seibt, 416.

[11] Ibid.

the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 did a solution to the Palatine question result in the restoration of the Lower Palatinate and the creation of an eigth electoral title for his eldest surviving son, Karl Ludwig. However, before 1648 Maximilian did his best to incorporate all of the Palatine lands into a greater Bavaria.

The Battle of White Mountain in 1620 was not only the high point of Maximilian's and Frederick's military involvement in the Thirty Years' War, but also the battle in which confessionalized literati and artists from both sides waged their most voluminous war of words in the forms of panegyrics, broadsheets, satires, 'folk' songs, tapestries, monuments, and portraiture. In this critical period, writers and artists employed their talents to defend their respective patrons and world-views. Concomitantly, the struggle between Frederick and Maximilian over the status of the electoral title and the Palatine lands played a critical role in prolonging the Thirty Years' War; they also demonstrate the striking degree to which Wittelsbach patronage contributed to the further confessionalization of humanism in this era. This chapter examines this process by first showing how the victory of Maximilian over Frederick at White Mountain reveals itself as a struggle between Frederick and Maximilian over possession of the Palatine lands and the associated electoral title, and secondly, by discussing the long term impact of White Mountain on both sides of the Atlantic.

John Winthrop, soon to be the governor of Massachussets Bay Colony, was one of many English Puritans who were shocked when they heard of Frederick's defeat at White Mountain.[12] It also helped convince the Pilgrims residing in Leiden to set sail on the *Mayflower* the same year because they considered White Mountain a harbinger of more disastrous events to come in Europe.[13] On the other hand, an eyewitness to the event, an Irishman, the Jesuit Henry Fitzsimon, who was certainly familiar with English Protestant designs for his native land, rejoiced in the outcome of the Battle of White Mountain and the "vain" efforts of the English to assist Frederick.[14]

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[12] Peter Bergmann, "City Aflame, City on the Hill: Puritan Reactions to German Protestant Defeats," paper delivered at the German Studies Association Conference, Pittsburgh, 2006.

[13] Avihu Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom. History and Apocalypse in the Puritan Migration to America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 130–135.

[14] Henry Fitzsimon and Joannes Labenus, *De praelio Pragensi, Pragaegue deditione octava & nona Novembris, M.DC.XX*. (Prague, 1621), 5. Rare book. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

King James attempted to distance himself from Frederick after White Mountain, and numerous English and continental Protestants thought that James had deserted his daughter.[15] Because of James' response, The Hague became the center for Frederician propaganda after Frederick's exile.[16] Likewise, Frederick and Elizabeth's flight to The Hague also provided plenty of literary ammunition for Ferdinand II and Maximilian as well.[17] Initially, the United Provinces were hesitant to harbor Frederick because it jeopardized their own peace with Habsburg Spain, especially when it became clear that James did not intend to support Frederick's restoration militarily.[18] The United Provinces did not send an ambassador to Frederick V's Bohemian court-in-exile while the cease-fire was still in place with Spain.[19] It was only after Spinola invaded the Palatinate in September of 1620, and the cease-fire with Spain ended in April 1621, that the United Provinces began increasing support for Frederick's military enterprises to recover the Palatinate.[20] Maximilian was equally convinced of the justness of his cause, and the Jesuits in particular served as literary articulators of Maximilian's quest for confessional unity within his Bavarian territories and newly possessed Palatine lands and electoral title.

The competition over confessionalized court patronage between the Palatine and Bavarian branches of the Wittelsbachs was a prominent example of the cultural tensions that affected many early Baroque courts.[21] Indeed, in a classical study on the development of German humanism, Lewis Spitz marked the end of the Renaissance in Germany with the year 1618 because of the impact of the Thirty Years' War on German culture.[22] Likewise, Spitz once noted that the works of

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[15] Brennan Pursell, "War or Peace? Jacobean Politics and the Parliament of 1621," in *Parliament, Politics and Elections, 1604–1648*, ed. Chris Kyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 149.

[16] Miller, "From Conquerors to Martyrs," 91; Friederich Schubert, "Die pfälzische Exilregierung im dreißigjährigen Krieg. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des politischen Protestantismus," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 102 (1954): 588.

[17] Jana Hubková, "Exil Fridricha Falckého vletácích jeho doby," in *Víra nebo vlast?: exil v českých dějinách raného novověku*, ed. Michaela Hrubá, 184–197 (U'sti' nad Labem: Albis International, 2001).

[18] Nicollete Mout, "Der Winterkonig im Exil; Friedrich V. von der Pfalz und die niederlandischen Generalstaaten 1621–1632," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 15 (1988) 259; Polišensky, *Tragic Triangle*, 130.

[19] Mout, "Der Winterkonig im Exil," 260.

[20] Ibid., 259.

[21] Trevor-Roper, "The Culture of the Baroque Courts," 232.

[22] Spitz, "The Course of German Humanism," 380–381.

the Renaissance humanist Conrad Celtis (1459–1508) offer an excellent comparative case study for understanding the nature of German humanism before the Protestant Reformation.[23] Similarly, Celtis does the same for understanding how the Wittelsbachs contributed to confessionalized patronage of Renaissance humanism, since he also praised both halves of the Wittelsbach dynasty before the Protestant Reformation.

In the commemoration of military valor found in Celtis's panegyric to the Wittelsbachs, one can see how the already tenuous ties between the Wittelsbachs' Bavarian and Palatine lines had snapped in the confessional age. When Celtis wrote his panegyric to the Wittelsbachs, the Palatine and Bavarian branches had fought together in dynastic unity in their struggles against Albrecht Achilles, the Margrave of Ansbach, and Celtis was lauding not only their patronage of the Renaissance, but also their prowess in battle:

> How shall I commemorate the latest deeds of the duke in the great and just wars that have been recently celebrated with glorious triumphs since the might of the Palatinate Empire has increased…[24]

He referred to Ludwig and Frederick as the "thunderbolts of the great war."[25] The Frederick referred to was Elector Frederick I, the "Victorious"(1449–1476), who made Heidelberg a center for Renaissance humanism.[26] Ironically, it was his descendant, Frederick V, who would be known as the "Winter King" following the Battle of White Mountain and often depicted not as a lion roaring in victory, but as a lion fleeing with his tail between his legs.

Celtis believed that the Holy Roman Empire would rise to glory with the Habsburg Emperor Maximilian I.[27] It was in Emperor Maximilian's Vienna that Celtis gave the very first lectures on Tacitus at a German university.[28] Maximilian of Bavaria also looked to the Emperor Maximilian I for inspiration and even had his prayer book

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[23] Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists*, 81.

[24] Conrad Celtis, *Panegyris ad duces Bavariae* in *Conradi Celtis Protucii Panegyris ad duces Bavariae: mit Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, ed. and transl. Joachim Gruber (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 3.22–30.

[25] Ibid., 3.45.

[26] For Frederick I, see Rita Schlusemann, "Power and Creativity at the Court of Heidelberg," in *Princes and Princely Culture 1450–1650*, ed. Gosman et al., 279–294.

[27] Spitz, *Conrad Celtis: The German Arch-Humanist*, 95.

[28] Ibid., 67.

in his possession.[29] The contents of Emperor Maximilian's prayer book reveal how seriously he considered his own obligations as a Christian ruler to defend the faith.[30] Maximilian of Bavaria imitated the Emperor Maximilian I as well by becoming an avid collector of Albrecht Dürer's art, some of which could even be found in the Emperor's prayer book.[31] Maximilian of Bavaria's passion for Dürer is still visible today in the fine collection of Dürer works housed at the Alte Pinakothek art museum in Munich. Indeed, it is a testimony to Dürer's ability to create devotional art that could appeal aesthetically to both Protestants and Catholics. Nevertheless, the most prominent piece in the collection, *The Four Apostles* (1526), is a diptych that originally contained Luther's *Septembertestament* supporting the base before Maximilian of Bavaria felt it necessary to have it removed when he acquired it in 1627.[32] Thus, similar to his cousin Frederick, Maximilian at times considered it necessary to 'purge' art that did not conform to his confessional view.

Maximilian also followed the example of the Emperor Maximilian I by patronizing a classical revival in Munich to reflect dynastic prestige.[33] One of the most important poets whom Maximilian of Bavaria patronized for his classical revival was the Jesuit Jacob Balde. Balde was an intellectual heir of Celtis in several ways and inherited Celtis' epithet as the "German Horace."[34] The Horatian Renaissance spread from Italy to the other side of the Alps thanks to scholars like Celtis, who made Ingolstadt the center for that revival in Germany in the fifteenth

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[29] Albrecht, *Maximilian I von Bayern*, 259; Rupert Hacker, "Die bayer. Herrscher der Spätrenaissance und das schöne Buch," in *Das Gebetbuch Kf. Maximilian I. von Bayern*, ed. idem (Lachen: Coron, 1986), 7–28.

[30] Hermann Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I. Das Reich Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*. vol. 5 *Der Kaiser und seine Umwelt. Hof, Staat, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft und Kultur* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1986), 153, 319.

[31] Gisela Goldberg, "Dürer-Renaissance am Münchner Hof," in *Um Glauben und Reich*, ed. H. Glaser, 318–322.

[32] For an analysis of this piece, see David Hotchkiss Price, *Albrecht Durer's Renaissance. Humanism, Reformation and the Art of Faith* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 258–275; Karl Arndt and Bernd Moeller, *Albrecht Dürer's 'Vier Apostel': Eine Kirchen und Kunsthistorische Untersuchung* (Heidelberg: Gütersloher, 2003).

[33] Jean-Marie Valentin, "Balde et la Baviere de Maximilien," in *Jacob Balde und seine Zeit*, ed. idem (Bern: P. Lang, 1986), 54.

[34] Schäfer, x, 109–113; for continuance of poets and princely patronage in a broader sense, see Albert Schirrmester, *Triumph des Dichters. Gekrönte Intellektuelle im 16. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003).

century.[35] Besides studying Philosophy and Law at the University of Ingolstadt, Jacob Balde was also a professor of rhetoric there for a time, and he was the most important of the Jesuits to ensure the Horatian legacy would continue in Bavaria. Also, like Celtis, Balde hoped for a revival of the Holy Roman Empire and wrote panegyrics in a Horatian manner to the Houses of Habsburg and Wittelsbach for these ends.[36] Both Balde and Celtis also considered Bohemia as a threat to this goal. Although Celtis emphasized the Empire's secular classical heritage and enjoyed writing anticlerical polemics, he did, however, consider the Bohemians as untrustworthy 'heretical' followers of Jan Hus, especially under the Bohemian king George of Poděbrady.[37]

Jacob Balde wrote his "Paean Boicus" or "Bohemian Paean" to commemorate the victory of the Catholic League at the Battle of White Mountain. Balde used the traditional image of the Wittelsbachs, a fierce lion, as did Celtis, to depict the Bavarian response to a threatening enemy.[38] Then similar to Celtis, Balde described the battle and mentioned the brave actions of the Bavarian duke; this time it was Maximilian assisted by Bucquoy and Tilly: "Here, appropriately, goes the Duke-Maximus Aemilianus- the first to make a noise, raising his weapons against the enemy."[39] The major difference again being that the duke's antagonist was Frederick V of the Palatinate who lost the Battle of White Mountain rather than Frederick I whom Celtis praised. Balde continued: "King Frederick, turn back the foot! Alas, a tale of fallen glory!"[40]

Jacob Balde also wrote a panegyric dedicated to Maximilian I of Bavaria.[41] Although it is possible to interpret the poem as an attempt by Balde to maintain poetic independence and question Maximilian's claims to absolutism, it fits the classical description of a panegyric.[42]

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[35] Eduard Stemplinger, *Das Fortleben der Horazischen Lyrik seit der Renaissance* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1906), 9–10.

[36] Breuer, *Oberdeutsche Literatur 1565–1650*, 218.

[37] Spitz, *Conrad Celtis*, 18–19, 94.

[38] Jacob Balde, "Paean Boicus," in *Jacob Balde S.J. Opera Poetica Omnia*. (Munich: 1729; reprint, Frankfurt am Main: Keip Verlag, 1990), Texte der frühen Neuzeit, ed. Wilhelm Kühlmann, *Lyricorum* 2.3.5–8.

[39] Ibid., 2.3.18–40; quote Ibid., 2.3.18–20.

[40] Ibid., 2.3. 60–61.

[41] Ibid., 343; Jacob Balde, *Panegyricus* (1636), *Lyricorum* 4.1.

[42] Dieter Breuer, "Katholische Konfessionalisierung und poetische Freiheit," in *Die Katholische Konfessionalisierung*, eds., Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1995) 180–182; see also Balde's relationship with the Emperor

It could be argued that Balde is continuing in the Horatian praise of a stoic ruler resigning himself to fate; however, in this case it is not fate, but divine providence. Thus, in writing a panegyric lauding Maximilian, Balde followed the footsteps of Celtis in praising the Wittelsbach dynasty. The grand difference was the confessional split manifest at the time of the Battle of White Mountain that made it impossible for Balde to praise both halves of the dynasty.

This confessional division also reveals how confessionally arranged intermarriages between the Bavarian Wittelsbachs and Austrian Habsburgs had exacerbated the divide between the major branches of the Wittelsbachs, which facilitated Maximilian's willingness to militarily support Ferdinand II against Frederick at White Mountain. Although Frederick was Maximilian's Wittelsbach cousin, Ferdinand II was also not only Maximilian's cousin through his mother, Maria of Bavaria, but also at the time of White Mountain, his brother-in-law, because Ferdinand married Maximilian's sister, Maria Anna of Bavaria. Indeed, as discussed in chapter 4, Catholic confessionalization both created and shaped these familial bonds. For both Maximilian and Ferdinand II, Jesuits played a prominent role in articulating their conception of princely virtues. One of Ferdinand II's Jesuit confessors was William Lamormaini, who later paid tribute to the Bavarian Wittelsbach influence over Ferdinand's zealous role as defender of the faith in a mirror of prince dedicated to Ferdinand III.[43] In it, he emphasized that Ferdinand II's mother, Maria of Bavaria, played an important role in lovingly encouraging the young Ferdinand to be pious.[44] Lamormaini was one of several important Catholic political theorists who attempted to repudiate Machiavelli's assertion that Christianity and the needs of statecraft diverged. They did this by arguing that a Catholic ruler possessed of Christian virtues had far greater opportunity to succeed than one driven solely by reason of state.[45]

Another pro-Habsburg, anti-Machiavellian Catholic political theorist, Diego Saavedra Fajardo, also used Frederick V's efforts to take the Bohemian crown as an example of Machiavellian statecraft rooted in

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in George Schoolfield, "The Eagle of the Empire." In *Literary Culture in the Holy Roman Empire, 1555–1720*, ed. Parente, et al., 109–125.

[43] William Lamormaini, *Ferdinandi II Romanorum imperatoris virtutes* (Vienna, 1638), 42–44. Rare book. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince*, 3.

a prince's vice of ambition.[46] To illustrate his point, Fajardo borrowed from the Roman poet Lucretius' description of the difficulties of finding the right path in the games of Vulcan and Prometheus without passing a torch.[47] This metaphor was meant to symbolize the importance of dynastic succession within the traditions carried on throughout the centuries.[48] Then Fajardo argued that Frederick lost his own electoral title and lands because he let political ambition stir him into taking the Bohemian crown against Ferdinand, who possessed the legitimate dynastic succession in Bohemia.[49]

Adam Contzen, another Jesuit associated with the Wittelsbach-Habsburg connection and the anti-Machiavellian movement, published an important work, *Ten Books on Politics*, not long after White Mountain and dedicated it to Ferdinand II. Contzen's work reflects the great political optimism among many Catholics following Frederick's fall at White Mountain, and it became a model for confessional statecraft in Central Europe in particular.[50] An expanded version also came out in 1629 when Contzen was most influential on Maximilian as his court confessor, a position he had taken in 1624 not long after Maximilian obtained the electoral title at Frederick's expense.[51] In the dedicatory preface, Contzen stressed that Calvinists were responsible for the disorder in Europe because they stirred up rebellion against legitimate rulers, such as had happened in Bohemia.[52] Indeed, Contzen considered Frederick's defeat at White Mountain as a clear sign that God protected Ferdinand because of his piety. Maximilian shared Contzen's sentiments about Catholic statecraft, and he brought him to his court so that Contzen could help him implement Catholic confessionalization as an imperial elector.[53] Not surprisingly, the majority of

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[46] Diego Saavedra Fajardo, *Empresas Politicas. Idea de un príncipe político-cristiano*, ed. Quintin Aldea Vaquero (Madrid: Editoria Nacional, 1976), 213–214; see also Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince*, 198.

[47] Fajardo, *Empresas Politicas*, 213.

[48] Ibid., 212–214.

[49] Ibid., 214.

[50] Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince*, 137–138.

[51] Ibid., 137, 157; for extensive examination of Contzen's influence on Maximilian, see Robert Bireley, *Maximilian I. von Bayern, Adam Contzen S.J., und die Gegenreformation in Deutschland 1624–1635* (Göttingen Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975); Ernst-Albert Seils, Seils, *Die Staatslehre des Jesuiten Adam Contzen, Beichtvater Kurfürst Maximilian I von Bayern* (Lübeck: Matthiesen, 1968).

[52] Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince*, 141.

[53] Ibid., 157.

Contzen's ideological opponents were those affiliated with Frederick's court and university in Heidelberg.[54] Indeed, the theological faculty at Heidelberg included the most prominent promoters of confessionalized humanism in the Palatinate.[55]

Like Contzen, Father Sabino of Venice, a Capucin at the Imperial court, alluded to Frederick as a disciple of Machiavelli. Sabino did this in a sermon given in Vienna following White Mountain.[56] Although the Lutheran Elector of Saxony had supported the Emperor, the confessionalized description of the Battle of White Mountain is evident throughout the sermon. For example, he compared jubilation at Frederick's defeat with that of Moses and the Children of Israel escaping the armies of the Egyptians. He did not state explicitly that Catholics were the "chosen people," but it seems implied, as do his other examples that were frequently invoked in confessional discourse. The reference to Machiavelli was within a confessionalized context because he associated Ferdinand's victory with that of King David over his enemies.[57]

Although the example of King David was one that all of the confessional cultures shared,[58] Sabino did not depict the victory of White Mountain as simply a triumph of constitutional legitimacy over rebellion, but an act against a monarch whose sacral qualities made all of his critics enemies of God. Judging from Lutheran and Calvinist traditions of resistance to the emperors when they felt that their lib-

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[54] Ibid., 157–158.

[55] Eike Wolgast, "Geistiges Profil und politische Ziele des Heidelberger Späthumanismus," in *Späthumanismus und reformierte Konfession. Theologie, Jurisprudenz und Philosophie in Heidelberg an der Wende zum 17. Jahrhundert*, eds., Chistoph Strohm et al., 1–26 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 16–17.

[56] Father Sabino of Venice, *Eine Predigt von der Victory, so das kaiserlich Feldläger gegen den Rebellen in Böhmen und ihren Adhaerenten erhalten den 8. Novembl. im jahr 1620* (Vienna[?], 1620), 12. Rare book. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

[57] Ibid., 3, 12.

[58] Friedrich Polleross, "'Mas exemplar, que imitador de David". Zur Funktion des Identifikationsporträts zwischen Tugendspiegel und Panegyrik," in *Religion und Religiosität im Zeitalter des Barock*, eds. Dieter Breuer et al., (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995), 229–241; Edward Gosselin, *The King's Progress to Jerusalem: Some Interpretations of David during the Reformation Period and their Patristic and Medieval Background* (Malibu, Undena Publications, 1976); id., "Two Views of the Evangelical David: Lefèvre d'Etaples and Theodore Beza," in *The David Myth in Western Literature*, eds. Raymond-Jean Frontain and Jan Wojcik (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1980), 56–67; Marie L. Ahearn, "David the Military Exemplum," in *The David Myth in Western Literature*, eds. Frontain and Wojcik, 106–118.

erties were being threatened by Habsburg 'tyranny,'[59] Sabino was placing Ferdinand II within the mystique of the *pietas austriaca*, which Lutherans did not subscribe to any more than Calvinists, or even all Catholics. Another example of confessionalized humanism is when he used both biblical and classical images to describe Ferdinand's enemies: they were "develish spirits and harpies."[60] He concluded his sermon by reminding his audience of the example of Judas Maccabeus from the Bible, lest any one forget that this victory in battle came from divine intervention.[61] Although Ferdinand II was not present at the Battle of White Mountain, the Milanese Jesuit Giovanni Rho wrote works referring to Ferdinand II as the victor because God had protected Ferdinand thanks to his devotion and virtue.[62] Nevertheless, it was Maximilian that actually fought and the association between Maximilian and King David resounded on his return trip to Munich. He stopped at the *Frauenkirche* to give thanks to God and Mary for the victory and was greeted by a church choir singing "Saul hath slain his thousands."[63] Thus, the choir was comparing Maximilian's victory with King David's over the Phillistines when the women sang "Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands."[64] It would be interesting to know if Ferdinand II would have reacted like Saul had he been present at the singing.

A number of Catholic authors at the time attributed the victory at White Mountain as a "revenge of the saints" because of Frederick's iconoclastic activity.[65] Indeed, Catholics used art and architecture extensively to corroborate the idea that White Mountain reflected God's protection of his 'chosen people' against 'heretics.' The memory of the 'purging' of St. Vitus remains today in the form of four large panels in the ambulatory of St. Vitus that are intended to remind onlookers of the spoiling of Solomon's temple. The notion of the Catholics as the 'chosen people' is clear in one panel which shows Frederick and his

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[59] Robert V. Friedeburg, "In Defense of Patria: Resisting Magistrates and the Duties of Patriots in the Empire from the 1530's to the 1640's," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 32 (2001): 357–382.

[60] Sabino, 9.

[61] Ibid., 14–15.

[62] Chaline, *La Bataille del Montagne Blanche*, 423–424.

[63] Hubert Glaser and Elke Anna Werner, "The Victorious Virgin: The Religious Patronage of Maximilian I. of Bavaria," in *1648. War and Peace in Europe*, eds. K. Bussmann, H. Schilling, 141.

[64] 1 Samuel 18: 6–9.

[65] Chaline, *La Bataille del Montagne Blanche*, 457–464.

followers fleeing across the Vltava with a written description alluding to the fall of Pharaoh's armies in the Red Sea.[66]

When Frederick fled Prague in disorder after White Mountain, he left not only his crown, scepter, orb, and bejeweled collar of the Order of the Garter, but also the "Anhalt-Office" documents that included private correspondence with other Habsburg opponents, including the Turks. Maximilian took possession of all these items.[67] He took advantage of these powerful physical remnants to exploit Frederick's plight and underscore his own legitimacy as head of the Wittelsbach dynasty. Just as Frederick 'stripped' St. Vitus Cathedral to demonstrate his own legitimacy as a new Calvinist Josiah, so too Maximilian attempted to demonstrate his own ability to be a Catholic Judas Maccabeus by 'stripping' Frederick of his material manifestations of confessionalized honor. Even today, Frederick's collar of the Order of the Garter can be seen on display in Munich at the Palace museum. With the disclosure of the "Anhalt-Office" papers, Frederick's alliance with Gábor Bethlen and the Turks seemed to only further corroborate the assertion that Frederick was an ambitious traitor against God and his appointed Emperor, Ferdinand II.[68] In fact, the legal pretexts for Frederick's ban which 'stripped' him of his title and lands were *crimen laesae maiestatis* (offense against majesty) and high treason against the Emperor.[69]

For many Catholics in particular, the Battle of White Mountain took its place in memory like that of Lepanto over the Turks. Maximilian offered his own standard and twenty banners captured at White Mountain as votive offerings to the Virgin Mary at the newly rededicated Carmelite church in Rome, *Santa Maria della Vittoria*. Its new name was intended to commemorate the Virgin Mary's assistance in the victory at White Mountain. The pope and his court also offered votive offerings at this church, as did many family members of the Wittelsbach and Habsburg dynasties, whose own dynastic myths as defendors of the 'true' faith appeared to be substantiated by White Mountain. For example, Maximilian's wife, Elisabeth Renata of Lorraine, offered a ducal crown and a statue of Jesus as a child. Maximilian's father, Wilhelm V, presented ornaments and Maximilian's brother, Albrecht, donated a statue of the Virgin Mary. Maximilian's other brother

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[66] Louthan, "Breaking Images and Building Bridges," 288–89.
[67] Pursell, *Winterking*, 1, 115.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, 100.

Ferdinand, who was the Elector of Cologne as well as a member of the Catholic League, sent two reliquaries that included a portion of what many Catholics believed was the tunic of Jesus, as well as what they considered to be the tablecloth used for the Last Supper. Catholic soldiers also gave offerings, including a golden key taken from the corpse of Frederick's chamberlain. Likewise, chalice offerings symbolized the victory over Utraquism.[70]

Numerous representatives of Bavarian cities made vows to perform a pilgrimage to the Virgin of Altötting before the Battle of White Mountain and afterwards fulfilled them. In 1622, the citizens of Landshut offered an ex-voto offering of an altar with an image of Christ before the Mount of Olives in gratitude of White Mountain and the conquest of the Palatinate.[71] The dynastic element in this latter offering is further accentuated because Landshut served as the first dynastic battleground between the major branches of the Wittelsbachs in the early 1500s that predated the Protestant Reformation and the subsequent confessional divisions within the dynasty.[72] The Bavarian War of 1504 began after the death of Duke Georg of Bavaria-Landshut, who had broken Wittelsbach custom and treaty by bequething his lands to his daughter Elisabeth and his son-in-law Count Palatine Ruprecht instead of his cousin Duke Albrecht IV of Bavaria-Munich. Bohemia supported the Palatine claim and Austria championed the Bavaria-Munich claim that resulted in a war which devastated the Palatine lands.[73] The historian Volker Press referred to it as the "first Palatine catastrophe."[74]

Princes waged wars for dynastic considerations throughout Europe since the Middle Ages, and the Thirty Years' War can be seen as an apex of particular tensions that had arisen since 1550.[75] Not only was dynastic warfare commonplace since the Middle Ages, the division of the Wittelsbach dynasty along confessional lines since the Protestant Reformation was not unique either. Dynastic competition often

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[70] Chaline, *La Bataille del Montagne Blanche*, 522–526.
[71] Ibid., 533.
[72] Press, "Bayerns wittelsbachische Gegenspieler-Die Heidelberger Kurfürsten 1505–1685," 24–39.
[73] See ch. 1.
[74] Press, "Bayerns wittelsbachische Gegenspieler-Die Heidelberger Kurfürsten 1505–1685," in 24.
[75] Peter Wallace, *The Long European Reformation: Religion, Political Conflict, and the Search for Conformity, 1350–1750* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 155.

became religious competition, and all three electoral dynasties in the Empire (Wittelsbachs, Wettins, and Hohenzollerns) at one point in this era produced a rivalry pitting a Catholic duke against a Protestant elector.[76]

These religious-dynastic concerns also help us understand why Maximilian would continue to patronize panegyrics commemorating the Battle of White Mountain long after it was over. If God favored Maximilian's military victory over Frederick, then why should anyone dispute Maximilian's acquisition of the electoral title and lands? Well before Maximilian patronized Jacob Balde's panegyrics in the 1630s mentioned earlier, other Jesuits wrote panegyrics about the Battle of White Mountain presenting Maximilian and Ferdinand as virtuous princes whose actions were pleasing in the eyes of God. In fact, 'religious patriotism' was a critical factor in creating early modern forms of patriotism for country and dynasty in Bavaria and Austria.[77] The dynastic ties are also evident in the places of publication for the two most well-known panegyrics published shortly after the battle, Ingolstadt and Munich. In the panegyric dedicated to Ferdinand II, the Bohemian conspiracy was depicted as worse than the Cataline Conspiracy of antiquity in which Cataline had sought to overtake the Roman Republic.[78] Perhaps, the choice to compare rather dissimilar political events was secondary to the importance of placing the deed within a framework of avarice and ambition that stained all conspiracies. Indeed, the Jesuits' mentor in Latin rhetoric was Cicero, who had already offered the vocabulary necessary to describe the Cataline conspiracy in terms of virtues and vices in a persuasive manner.[79]

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[76] Cameron, *The European Reformation*, 270–271.

[77] Phillip Soergel, "Religious Patriotism in Early-Modern Catholicism," in *'Patria' und 'Patrioten' vor dem Patriotismus. Pflichten, Rechte, Glauben und die Rekonfugurierung europäischer Gemeinwesen im 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. id. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 93.

[78] D.M.R.J.T.P.E.M., *Panegyricvs ob victoriam Bohemicam: augustissimo Imperatori Ferdinando dictus* (Ingolstadt, 1621), 2. Rare book. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

[79] Marc Fumaroli, "The Fertility and the Shortcomings of Renaissance Rhetoric: The Jesuit Case," in *The Jesuits. Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773*, ed. John O'Malley, S.J. et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 92; Barbara Bauer, *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica' im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe* (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1986), 1–20, 354–356.

The authors claimed that "heretics" were attempting to oppress Catholics and Lutherans in the Empire.[80] The composers of the panegyric then associated Calvinists, "Huguenots" and "Zwinglians" with heretical groups from the Middle Ages, such as the Waldensians and Albigensians.[81] The appeal to Lutherans was probably out of consideration of the Elector of Saxony, Johann Georg I, who supported the Emperor because of his own concerns about political stability in the Empire.[82] Johann Georg was also certainly aware that fidelity to the Habsburg Emperors allowed his branch of the Wettin dynasty, the Albertine, to obtain the electoral title. Victorious after the Battle of Mühlberg in 1547, the Habsburg Emperor Charles V transferred the electoral dignity of Saxony from the Ernestine to the Albertine branch because of the former's participation in political revolt against his rule during the Schmalkadic War. Thus, when Ferdinand II transferred Frederick's electoral title to Maximilian for his loyalty, he was continuing a practice set by his Habsburg predecessors.[83] The authors' concerns about offending Electoral Saxony also perhaps explains why the authors did not connect the Hussite medieval 'heresy' with the Calvinists, since Lutherans had proved far more sympathetic to that medieval 'heresy.'[84] In fact, ardent followers of Luther noted that both Hus and Wycliffe shared the same first name as John the Baptist and considered them both as "forerunners" of Luther.[85] However, like Father Sabino, the authors mentioned Ferdinand II within the mystique of the *pietas austriaca* by referring to the conspirators' act as one against a family whose unity in the Roman Catholic faith had given them the "hereditary" possessions which included not just Austria, but Hungary, Bohemia, Spain, and the "New World."[86]

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[80] D.M.R.J.T.P.E.M, *Panegyricvs ob victoriam Bohemicam: augustissimo Imperatori Ferdinando dictus*, 2–3.

[81] Ibid., 4.

[82] Frank Müller, *Kursachsen und der Böhmische Auftsand, 1618–1622* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1997), 463–468.

[83] Cameron, *The European Reformation*, 270–271.

[84] František Šmahel, "Luther, Hus et les hussites," in *Luther et la Réforme 1519–1526*, eds. Jean-Paul Cahn and Gérard Schneilin, 29–36 (Paris: éditions du temps, 2000), esp p. 29; Jana Nechutová, "Doctrine hussite et Réforme luthérienne," in *Luther et la Réforme 1519–1526*, eds. Jean-Paul Cahn and Gérard Schneilin, 37–47.

[85] Heiko Oberman, *Luther: Man between God and the Devil* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 54.

[86] D.M.R.J.T.P.E.M, *Panegyricvs ob victoriam Bohemicam: augustissimo Imperatori Ferdinando dictus*, 2–3.

The conflict between Jesuit and Calvinist sponsored humanism was also evident in the panegyric when it claimed that Calvinists had perverted education in the Palatinate by corrupting the liberal arts in Heidelberg and Amberg.[87] In contrast to the 'devious' deeds of the Palatine Wittelsbachs, the authors extolled the virtues of the Catholic Bavarian branch. The authors even used the works of a former Renaissance scholar who had played a prominent role in introducing Renaissance humanism at the University of Heidelberg before the Protestant Reformation, and who later remained loyal to the Catholic Church. This choice was most likely intended by the authors in order to hammer home how the Palatine Wittelsbachs had become 'degenerate.' The scholar was Jacob Wimpfeling (1450–1528). The historian Lewis Spitz once referred to him as a "priest's priest" and a "brave soldier in the church militant."[88] The work referred to was Wimpfeling's *Deeds of the Germans*, and the deed discussed was the renunciation of the Bohemian crown in 1440 by the Wittelsbach Duke of Bavaria-Munich, Albrecht III, who turned down the Bohemian crown because his own princely virtues would not allow him to succumb to avarice.[89] The allusion to Frederick's acceptance was far from opaque. In addition, the authors' reference to Albrecht III's facility with the Czech language, after being educated at the court of King Wenceslaus IV of Prague, made the association between Maximilian of Bavaria's support for the Habsburgs all the more salient, since Maximilian had also studied Czech.[90]

The authors continued discussing the virtues of Albrecht III in the mode of the *pietas bavarica*, whose example of charity to the poor, as well as military diligence against the Turks made him a model of rulership that corresponded to the Neostoic ideal of Justus Lipsius.[91] Following this, the authors compared the princely virtues of Maximilian and Johann Georg of Saxony, who supported Ferdinand II against Frederick and the Bohemians, with the good tyrants who brought good order and stability to ancient Sparta. They then contrasted these with a comparison between the Directors of the Bohemian Estates and

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[87] Ibid., 6–7.
[88] Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists*, 41.
[89] D.M.R.J.T.P.E.M., *Panegyricvs ob victoriam Bohemicam: augustissimo Imperatori Ferdinando dictus*, 14–16.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.

the bad tyrants of antiquity who exploited their positions for their own gain and wreaked havoc on the people.[92] Thus, a large portion of this panegyric was not so much about the actual military victory at White Mountain, but its cultural ramifications for Wittelsbach and Habsburg sense of dynastic legitimacy.

Jacob Keller and Jeremias Drexel, Jesuits patronized by the Bavarian Wittelsbachs, also wrote a panegyric for the occasion of White Mountain in honor of Maximilian. Here again is an excellent example of confessionalized humanism in the service of the Wittelsbachs. On the title page was an emblem, resembling a Roman triumph with a triumphal charioteer driving three horses through the countryside with what appeared to be a depiction of Prague and White Mountain in the background. At the top of the emblem were Cherubim, and on each side were women weeping and the inscription "Invidiae Amuletum" (the Amulet against Ambition). The authors recounted how it had been seventy years since the Calvinist "heresy" spread from France into the Holy Roman Empire. They then stated how this "heresy" prompted Frederick to stage a play in Prague in which he pretended to be king. Thus, according to the authors, Frederick's actions in Bohemia were nothing more than theatrics without substance. They even argued that "religion was a pretext" for Frederick and his supporters.[93] In a different section, Keller and Drexel stated that Calvinism fostered wars and upheaval, and with a pun on the name "Saxony" (Latin, "saxum" meaning "rock"), they praised the Lutheran Elector of Saxony for his steadfastness like a "rock" against Calvinism.[94]

Keller and Drexel referred to Frederick's iconoclastic activities in Prague when they stated that it was Calvinist "heresy" that encouraged Frederick to desecrate and loot God's temple in Bohemia and offend the saints. According to Keller and Drexel, these activities emboldened Maximilian to use his heroic qualities in defense of God which earned him the aid of the offended hosts of Heaven. The authors then recounted how different Maximilian's experience was with that of some of his illustrious ancestors, who during the Hussite Wars had participated in the attempted siege of Prague in 1420 that Jan Žižka

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[92] D.M.R.J.T.P.E.M., *Panegyricvs ob victoriam Bohemicam*, 22–23.

[93] Jacob Keller and Jeremias Drexel, *Panegyricus serenissimo Maximiliano Boiorvm dvci*… (Munich, 1620), 3–6, 14. Rare book. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

[94] Ibid., 33– 34.

successfully broke. In contrast to the trepid nature of this failed siege, Maximilian boldly entered Prague seeking out the enemy because he was confident of God's favor. However, Keller and Drexel did not explain why Frederick's iconoclastic activities caused the heavenly hosts to support Maximilian, but not the cause of his ancestors against the radical Hussites, who themselves had just engaged in serious iconoclastic activity in Prague. In a later section, Keller and Drexel did drive home the fact that Frederick had been willing to ally himself with the "infidel" Turks.[95] Again, like the previous panegyric, the battlefield heroics were only one aspect of the much broader agenda to demonstrate Bavarian Wittelsbach dynastic legitimacy.

Keller and Drexel's references to Maximilian acting as a new Gideon and Joshua at the Battle of White Mountain served to corroborate Maximilian's confessionalized image as defender of the faith through a classical medium, the panegyric. Indeed, Keller and Drexel attempted to demonstrate the continuity of the *pietas bavarica* by stating that Maximilian's father, Wilhelm V, shared in this military triumph because of the importance of Wilhelm's legacy of piety and zeal. The authors then elaborated how the bonds between the *pietas bavarica* and the *pietas austriaca* were likewise personified in Maximilian's sister, the virtuous Maria Anna, who was Ferdinand II's wife. Following this, they recalled how important Maximilian's other sister, Magdalena, was in strengthening the *pietas bavarica* by bringing into the fold stray sheep from the Palatine branch through her marriage with the Palatine Wittelsbach Wolfgang Wilhelm of Neuburg, who converted to Catholicism. Likewise, they praised Maximilian's wife, Elisabeth Renata of Lorraine, as a "most learned" princess, who performed prayers as well as pious deeds in the church and in public for her husband's safety.[96]

Later, Maximilian patronized Jesuits to write an important historical work, *Annalium Boicae Gentis* ("A History of the Bavarian Nation"), which extolled his house and his own role in the Battle of White Mountain, and it served to cement Maximilian's moral claims for the electoral title and Palatine lands. It went through several Jesuits because there were difficulties in Maximilian's attempt to rehabilitate his medieval ancestor Emperor Ludwig of Bavaria, whose ascendancy

[95] Ibid., 21–22, 26–29.
[96] Ibid., 39, 45–52.

to power also caused his excommunication.[97] Indeed, the monumental nature of the task resulted in Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz actually writing an introduction to the 1710 edition in which he lauded the efforts of historical scholarship in Bavaria. However, it also represented the confessionalization of history that was widespread among all the different faiths in this era.[98] For example, the history recounted how Maximilian had attempted to discourage Frederick from taking the crown and how Frederick should have followed the virtuous example of the Bavarian Wittelsbach Duke Albrecht III, who modestly refused the Bohemian crown in his own day.[99]

By the time the Jesuits were writing this history, Ferdinand II's Edict of Restitution of 1629, an attempt to roll back gains made by the Protestant Reformation in the Empire, had alienated the Lutheran Elector of Saxony. William Lamormaini, Ferdinand II's Jesuit court advisor, encouraged this militant policy, despite resistance from politique Catholics, who feared that this would lead to more chaos and bloodshed in the Empire.[100] Encouraged by the military success of White Mountain against Frederick, as well as the later routing of Christian IV of Denmark, Lamormaini and other militant Catholics were certain that God was fighting for them. Lamormaini even claimed that the edict offered the best chance of "converting" Germany since the age of Charlemagne.[101]

This was probably why, in contrast to the earlier Catholic accounts mentioned, *Annalium Boicae Gentis* mentioned Lutherans as participating along with Husssites, Calvinists, and Anabaptists as the corrupters

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[97] A. Schmid, "Geschichtsschreibung am Hofe Kurfürst Maximilians I. von Bayern," 330–340.

[98] Irena Backus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation 1378–1615* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003); Arno Strohmeyer, "Konfessionalisierung der Geschichte? Die ständische Historiographie in Innerösterreich an der Wende vom 16. zum 17. Jahrhundert," in *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa: Wirkung des religiösen Wandels im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur*, eds. Joachim Bahlcke and Arno Strohmeyer (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1999), 221–248; Christoph Kampmann, "Geschichte als Argument. Historische Mythen im Wandel des frühneuzeitlichen Staatensytsems," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 32 (2005): 199–220.

[99] Johann Adlzreitter and Andreas Brunner, *Annalium Boicae Gentis* (Frankfurt am Main, 1710 edition), *partis III, liber V*, 46. Rare book. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

[100] Robert Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counterreformation: Emperor Ferdinand II, William Lamormaini, S.J. and the Formation of Imperial Policy* (Chapell Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), 16, 22–23, 129.

[101] Ibid., 78.

of Bohemia at the time of Frederick's rule there.[102] Nevertheless, the authors did single out the Calvinists as the cause for the iconoclastic activity. Imbedded within this section of the history was the correspondence between Maximilian, Pope Paul V, and Ferdinand II, written when Maximilian delivered the news of victory to the pope. Paul V praised God for the victory and told Maximilian that his example of "piety," "nobility," and "fortitude" during the battle would serve as a memorial for his posterity. In Ferdinand II's congratulatory letter to Maximilian, he underscored the confessional and dynastic bonds between them as "brothers."[103]

Albert Lemire, the Flemish chaplain and historian for Archduke Albrecht VII of Austria, Viceroy of the Spanish Netherlands, wrote a history of the Bohemian phase of the war which not only mirrored his own pride in Flemish accomplishments, but more importantly, underscored the claims of both the *pietas austriaca* and the *pietas bavarica* against those of the 'Palatine Myth.' Following a lengthy description of the spread of Calvinist "heresy" that fomented rebellion from France to England and the Netherlands, he told about how Frederick V fanned the flames of this movement in the Holy Roman Empire.[104] In contrast to Frederick's actions, Lemire connected the pious actions of Rudolf I of Habsburg (r. 1273–1291) and his descendants with the coronation ceremony of Ferdinand II as Emperor in 1619. Lemire then focused on how the Bohemian rebels challenged the sacro-legitimate claims of Ferdinand II by sponsoring Frederick V. The author argued that the Heidelberg-influenced Synod of Dordrecht in the Netherlands, with the concomitant disputations, was living proof of the seeds of discord inherent in Calvinism, just as they were within the Lutherans, Hussites, and Anabaptists.[105] In describing the Battle of White Mountain, he noted the stoic temperament of Maximilian and Lemire's fellow Flemish representative, Count Bucquois, and followed with the assertion that the Virgin Mary fought for them at White Mountain.[106]

Lemire also underscored how the famous verse in Matthew "render unto Caesar, what is Ceasar's" was an entirely appropriate description

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[102] Johann Adlzreitter and Andreas Brunner, *Annalium Boicae Gentis, partis III, liber V*, 77.
[103] Ibid., 77, 80–81.
[104] Albert Lemire, *De bello bohemico* (n.p., 1622), 1–11. Rare book. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
[105] Ibid., 17–18, 24, 29–31.
[106] Ibid., 44.

of how Frederick's actions proved that Calvinism challenged Jesus' own sanctioned political order. Then flipping the traditional Palatine claim about the Habsburgs on its head, Lemire argued that the Battle of White Mountain ended Calvinist "tyranny" in Bohemia. Lemire also attached the letter Maximilian sent to Pope Paul V wherein Maximilian gave a confessionalized version of Julius Caesar's famous dictum *veni, vidi, vici* ("I came, I saw, I conquered"): "I came, I saw the fight and was present there, but God, the greatest, conquered…" Lemire added Paul V's response which likewise revealed a confessionalized version of the Roman Republic by claiming that the "universal Christian Republic" praised God for the victory at White Mountain.[107] In an attached commentary to this work, Lemire revived the classical imagery of the troubled Roman Republic by referring to the founders of the Protestant Union: Frederick IV of the Palatinate, Christian von Anhalt, and Joachim Ernestus of Brandenburg as the "Triumviri" who attempted to overthrow "German liberties."[108]

Besides the classical motifs, Lemire also maintained that Maximilian's deeds at White Mountain demonstrated that Maximilian was following the footsteps of the great medieval defenders of the church such as the crusaders Godefroy de Bouillon and Count Baldwin of Flanders.[109] In this sense, Lemire incorporated the *pietas bavarica* into a Flemish chivalric heritage as well as reinforced the *pietas austriaca*, since Maximilian was defending Ferdinand II's claims at White Mountain.

In an anonymous pamphlet published the same year as the Edict of Restitution (1629), the author placed the blame for the loss of Frederick's lands and electoral title on the head of Frederick. The author asserted that Frederick was following the bad example of his ancestor, Palatine Elector Frederick I "the Victorious" (r. 1449–1476), whose dynastic ambitions caused Bohemian affairs to turn into bloodshed and wreak havoc on the Holy Roman Empire in the late Middle Ages. Thus, in striking contrast to Celtis' praise for Frederick I, discussed earlier, this anonymous author believed that the Palatine branch of the Wittelsbach dynasty should be seen not as the avant-guard of the Renaissance in Germany, but as a pariah in the Empire, whose deeds only brought death and slaughter. The writer also made salient

[107] Ibid., 44–47, 50–51, quote on 47.
[108] Ibid., "Avctarivm Commentarii," 4–5.
[109] Ibid., 57.

that when Frederick V accepted the Bohemian crown, he had done so against the wishes of his own mother, Louise-Juliana of Orange. Besides portraying Frederick V as a disobedient son who did not listen to his mother, the author slung more mud on to the 'Palatine Myth' by claiming that Frederick's maternal uncle, Maurice of Orange, had an illegitimate daughter born to him by a French nun. Finally, the writer argued that Frederick's children should not be able to receive back the electoral title and Palatine lands because biblical authority confirmed that God would punish generations because of the rebellious deeds of one:

> Almighty God Himself says that He will punish the children for the crimes of their fathers up to the third and fourth generation. That God almighty strikes even the children is verified with the ban on the Count Palatine's children because of the Count Palatine's crimes.[110]

Frederick's opponents also appealed to a broader spectrum of society by using illustrated broadsheets in order to buttress the notion of 'sin' in Frederick's actions in Bohemia.[111] They did this by attributing Frederick's deeds to his ambition and pride and contrasting them with the piety and princely virtues displayed by Maximilian and Ferdinand II.[112] In one broadsheet commemorating the Battle of White Mountain, the author depicted Maximilian as another Judas Maccabeus defending the cause of God by martial means (see figure 8).[113] Another broadsheet presented the Palatine lion as an animal in pain and despair whose only cure was for Bavaria and Saxony to exorcise the devil

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[110] Anon., *Verzeichnuss, vnd warhafftige Beschreibung aller deren Königen… welche vber dem Pfältzischen Vnwesen…* (n.p., 1629), 9–13, quote on 10. Rare book. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Carl A. Kroch Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY.

[111] For the complex relationship between 'sin,' 'conscience,' and 'virtue' during this age, see David Sabean, "A Prophet in the Thirty Year's War: Penance as a Social Metaphor," in *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture & Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany*, id., 61–93, esp. 91–93.

[112] See also Bachmann, 154, 159, 163–164; Hubková, "Exil Fridricha Falckého vletácích jeho doby," 184–197, esp. 185; Mirjam Bohatcová in her introduction to her edited collection of illustrated broadsheets *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, 11.

[113] Anon., *Kurtze summarische Erzehlung und Beschreibung der glorwürdigen, herrlichen ritterlichen Victori; welche… Hertzog Maximilianus in Bayrn den 8. Tag Novembris anno 1620 vor Prag erhalten und erobert haben.* (Augsburg, n.d.), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 56.

Kurtze/Summarische Erzehlung vnd beschreibung/der Glorwürdigen
Herrlichen Ritterlichen Victori/Welche Ihr Fürstliche Durchleucht/Hertzog Maximilianus in Bayrn/den 8. Tag
Novembris. Anno 1620. vor Prag erhalten/vnd erobert haben.
PRAGA
Neustat
Te Deum Laudamus.

Fig. 8. *Kurtze summarische Erzehlung und Beschreibung der glorwürdigen, herrlichen ritterlichen Victori; welche… Hertzog Maximilianus in Bayrn den 8. Tag Novembris anno 1620 vor Prag erhalten und erobert haben.* Anon. Augsburg, n.d. Courtesy of the National Museum in Prague

from his body.[114] One broadsheet ridiculed Frederick's attempt at pomp and display for sacral legitimacy in Bohemia by depicting him as an imitating ape, whose game ended at White Mountain and only value was curing a cardinal's sickness through laughter.[115] Although not depicting Frederick in bestial forms, another broadsheet portraying Frederick at court still reinforced the idea of sin (see figure 9).

[114] Anon., *Der Pfälzisch Patient* (n.p., 1621), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 62.

[115] Anon., *Ein rechtes Affenspiel, gehalten im Königreich Böhaimb von dem jungen Affen von Heydelberg* (n.p., 1621), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 64.

Ferdinand II was presented as Frederick's court confessor admonishing Frederick to repent:

> You have sinned against authority
> through ambition or seducing people.
> Kneel down and plead for grace,
> I can pardon your wrongdoing.[116]

Another broadsheet also used court motiffs and the location of White Mountain to satirize Frederick's own love of hunting by depicting him as being hunted by Maximilian and Bucquois because he had stirred up God's wrath.[117] Likewise, one broadsheet appeared to be satirizing the famous Heidelberg court gardens and their symbolism of Palatine power (see figure 10).[118] Frederick was presented as being led astray in a garden maze by the "false serpent" and his teachings expressed in Calvinism. In it, an angel told Frederick that there was only one way out of this maze: confess his sins to a Jesuit. Frederick responded that he heard the lamentations of the souls of widows and orphans in Hell, complaining about him to God, which "gnawed" at Frederick's conscience. However, just before Frederick called for a confessor, Frederick's court preacher, Scultetus, intervened by offering Frederick Dutch cheese to chew on instead of his conscience,[119] the Dutch cheese alluding to his exile status at The Hague. Likewise, a different broadsheet parodied the New Testament account of Jesus being tempted in the wilderness by the Devil with Frederick succombing to the temptations of his wife and court preacher to seize the Bohemian crown (see figure 11).[120] Another broadsheet parodied the biblical account of the Fall of Adam and Eve by presenting the House of Austria in the form of a tree that protected Christianity and Scultetus as the serpent,

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[116] Anon., *Newes Königfest.* (n.p., 1621), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 66.

[117] Anon., *Ein new Jagerlied von dem gewesenen Churfürsten, Pfaltzgraf Friedrichen zu Heydelberg und auffgeworffnen, aber nunmehr verjagten König in Böheimb* (n.p., n.d.), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 67.

[118] Anon., *Gerechter Wegweiser dess irrländischen Königs auß dem Pragerischen Thiergarten* (n.p., n.d.), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 70.

[119] Ibid.

[120] Anon., *Des Pfaltzgrafen Versuchung* (n.p., n.d.), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 77.

Newes KönigFest.
Es ist der brauch fast vberal/ Das man helt jährlich Königmal/
Da mancher kompt zu hohen ehren/ Thut doch sein würde nit lang wehren/
Dergleichen auch allhie zu sehen Wie dem Pfaltzgraffen ist geschehen.
Pfaltzgraff.
1. König.
Ich bin ein König von kurtzem Reich/ Die Kron sach mir doch gar nit gleich/ Weilich dann nit genugsam sachen Ihr man mir mit Hof staub auff machē.
Engelandt.
2. Hoffmaister.
Ich muß mir rechtem ernst probieren Deß Königs Hauß zu Reformieren/ Dann sein leb Gsindt wirt sein also Von Jedem hoffen auff das Sero.
Protestirende.
3. Räth.
Zum rath haben wir nit wol gebidet Den armen König mit verführt/ Daß er ist kommen ins Elende/ Hat Gut vnd Volck vmb sonst verschwendt.
Reichsstätt.
4. Rentmaister.
Vnser rechnung ist vbel gstelt/ Dann mann mans alles vberzelt/ So haben wir vil hergeschossen/ Vnd doch bißher kein ein sam groschen.
Venediger.
5. Secretari.
Vnser heimliche Brieff vnd Bänd Dem König gar nit hoffen stünd/ Wann wir nit wölln noch groß einsehen Müssn wir die Federn scherpffer spitzen.
Spinola.
6. Mundtschenck.
Wolauff reinch/ lauff/ ihr gsellen mein/ Wann vns nit sleckt der Bachrach Wein/
Wer wehren wann ich anstechen laß Das grosse Heidelberger Faß?
Mansfelt.
7. Fürschneider.
Mein Messer war nie zweer zur prob/ Drumb schmid ich procken gar zu groß/ Der König fandt sie nicht verschlossen Trenchs schier gar daran erstucken.
Kayser.
8. Beichtvatter.
Hab gestandt wider dein Obrigkeit/ Durch geiz oder verfürherisch leuth/ Knie nider vnd bitt vmb genade/ Ich kan verzeihn dein vnserhar.
Spanier.
9. Artzney Doctor.
Zu d Königs Kranckheit war vmb sunst Deß Medici Galeni Kunst. Mein Paracelsisch Goldgeranck Heilt die Cronsuche diesen mache kranck.
Bayrn.
10. Musicus.
Ich hiele dem König ein Tanz mit freid Beym Thiergarten von Prag nit weit/ Doch floch er wie ein Haß behende Ehe das der Tanz recht hat ein ende.
Sachsen
11. Contrapunct.
Wir der Musse halrich accord, Die bösen Noten müssen fort/ Sie dörffen vns sonst beyden sachen Ein Handtstrer auß der Musse machen.
Graff vō Thurn
12. Camerling.
Dem König hab ich ein Bethgrliche Drauff sender er aber schlaffen nicht/ Im Feld ligen tag die Federn vnd Wer wehr zam klauben vnderwās.
Graf Moritz vnd Hertzog von Bullion.
13. vnd 14. Koch.
Ich vnd Bullion haben durch vnfleiß Dem König vbel kochs sein speiß/ Drum hat er grimmen in den magen/ Thut vber vns bey andern klagen.
Franckreich.
15. Portner.
Wo jetz muß ich die Thür zuferseren/ Mit raub sich die Calviner nehren/ Vnd halten weder recht noch glauben/ Sie dörffen mir mein Cron auch rauben.
Graf Buquoi
16. Bott.
Die Böhmisch zeitung trag ich heer In Schlesingen vnd auch in Mehren/ Sie müssen aber mir nach gahn Daß Botenlohn gar wol bezahlen.
Bethlem Gabor.
17. Narr.
Alßbald der Narr sein Kolben verlohren Sein kurtzweil sich verlehren in Zoren/ Kein sind hier mehr vberall Lauff wider in sein Narrenstall.
Gedruckt im Jahr/ 1621.

Fig. 9. *Newes Königfest*. Anon. n.p., 1621. Courtesy of the City Archive of Prague

Fig. 10. *Gerechter Wegweiser dess irrländischen Königs auß dem Pragerischen Thiergarten*. Anon. n.p., n.d. Courtesy of the City Archive of Prague

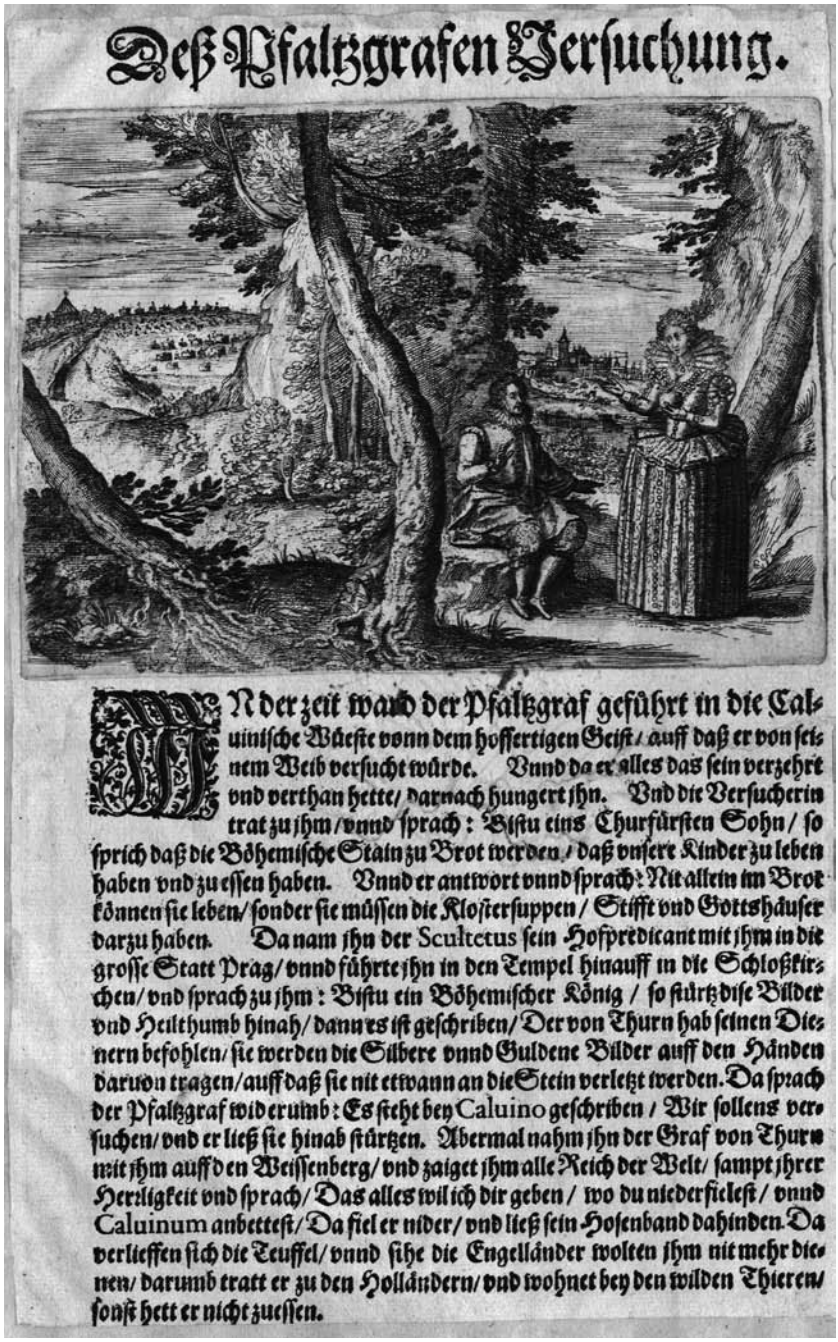
Deß Pfaltzgrafen Versuchung.
IN der zeit ward der Pfaltzgraf geführt in die Calvinische Wüeste vonn dem hoffertigen Geist / auff daß er von seinem Weib versucht würde. Vnnd da er alles das sein verzehrt vnd verthan hette / darnach hungert jhn. Vnd die Versucherin trat zu jhm / vnnd sprach: Bistu eins Churfürsten Sohn / so sprich daß die Böhemische Stain zu Brot werden / daß unsere Kinder zu leben haben vnd zu essen haben. Vnnd er antwort vnnd sprach: Nit allein im Brot können sie leben / sonder sie müssen die Klosterſuppen / Stifft vnd Gotshäuser darzu haben. Da nam jhn der Scultetus sein Hofprediçant mit jhm in die grosse Statt Prag / vnnd führte jhn in den Tempel hinauff in die Schloßkirchen / vnd sprach zu jhm: Bistu ein Böhemischer König / so stürtz diſe Bilder vnd Heilthumb hinab / dann es ist geschriben / Der von Thurn hab seinen Dienern befohlen / sie werden die Silbere vnnd Guldene Bilder auff den Händen daruon tragen / auff daß sie nit etwann an die Stein verletzt werden. Da sprach der Pfaltzgraf wider umb: Es steht bey Caluino geschriben / Wir sollens versuchen / vnd er ließ sie hinab stürtzen. Abermal nahm jhn der Graf von Thurn mit jhm auff den Weissenberg / vnd zaiget jhm alle Reich der Welt / sampt jhrer Herrligkeit vnd sprach / Das alles wil ich dir geben / wo du niederfieleſt / vnnd Caluinum anbetteſt / Da fiel er nider / vnd ließ sein Hosenband dahinden. Da verlieffen sich die Teuffel / vnnd sihe die Engelländer wolten jhm nit mehr dienen / darumb tratt er zu den Holländern / vnd wohnet bey den wilden Thieren / sonſt hett er nicht zuessen.

Fig. 11. *Des Pfaltzgrafen Versuchung* Anon. n.p. n.d. Courtesy of the National Museum in Prague

who offered the Bohemian crown to Elizabeth, and who then in turn offerred it to Frederick.[121]

Following the imposition of the Imperial ban on Frederick in 1621, an illustrated broadsheet presented Frederick as expressing remorse for being driven by "blind ambition" to take the Bohemian crown and lamenting the loss of his territories, and the fact that he could no can longer dance with Elizabeth at their court in Heidelberg.[122] Along the same theme, another broadsheet satirized Frederick and family on "vacation" to the Netherlands since the loss of his territories.[123] It depicted Elizabeth with teary eyes and crying that their present status as homeless wanderers was a result of Frederick's "ambition" for the Bohemian crown that would not let him be satisfied with the status of Count Palatine.[124]

Besides the Imperial ban and loss of his lands, 1621 was also the year that the Protestant Union disbanded with only a whimper. Several illustrated broadsheets exploited the end of this symbol of Palatine Wittelsbach influence on the Empire. One broadsheet compared the Protestant Union with the life stages of a good-for-nothing man.[125] Perhaps not to alienate the Lutheran Elector of Saxony at the time, the author of this broadsheet referred to the Protestant Union as the "Calvinist Union," even though membership of the Union consisted of Lutherans as well. In the last stage of the personified Union, there was an illustration depicting a skeleton with an hourglass standing over the old man on his death bed, and under the pedastal of all his life's stages, two men burying the man with no one around.[126] The sense of sorrow rather than celebratory triumph over death was also employed in another broadsheet "commemorating" the demise of the Union

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[121] Anon., *Emblematische Beschreibung deß edlen Oesterreichischen Stamms, und dessen Widerwertigkeiten* (n.p., n.d.), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 86.

[122] Anon., *Vertrawtes Gespräch der Princessin von Heidelberg mit ihrem gehaimen Rath Iohan Claudio* (n.p., 1621), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 79.

[123] Anon., *Deß Pfaltzgrafen Urlaub* (n.p., 1621), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 80.

[124] Ibid.

[125] Anon., *Der Calvinischen Union zehen Alter*, in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 88.

[126] Ibid.

Kürtzer bericht, wie des Trewes in Niederlandt schwester, die VNION in ober Teutschland gestorben, vnd ihrem brüder dem Trewes.
lämmerlich im todt nachfolgen thut.

Fig. 12 *Kurtzer Bericht, wie des Trewes in Niederlandt Schwester, die Union in ober Teutschland gestorben, und ihrem Bruder dem Treves jaemmerlich im Todt nachfolgen thut*. Anon. n.p.n.d. Courtesy of the National Musuem in Prague

(see figure 12).[127] In this illustrated broadsheet, the author mocked the "death" of the Protestant Union by inverting rituals of pomp associated with the Protestant Union in particular, and princely funerals in general, into an ignomonious manifestation of princely failure. For example, it illustrated a funeral procession wherein knights with bowed

[127] Anon., *Kurtzer Bericht, wie des Trewes in Niederlandt Schwester, die Union in ober Teutschland gestorben, und ihrem Bruder dem Treves jaemmerlich im Todt nachfolgen thut*, in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 89.

heads rode their horses backwards, while skulls with wings depicting death hovered over them like vultures.[128]

That these broadsheets, as well as the others satirizing Frederick's fate, had an impact on public opinion is revealed in another broadsheet printed that same year (1621) in which the publisher defended his satires against critics.[129] In one exchange the publisher retorted that his satires did not offend the Imperial constitution because Frederick was now outside of the Empire:

> Of what concern is the Imperial Diet
> To the Palatine
> Since he has been put to the ban,
> And is no longer a member of the Empire,
> Thus he has already lost his honour.
> One writes about him, one paints, one
> Composes,
> This is not contrary to the Imperial statutes.
> The Empire means only its members,
> The Palatine will never again return to the fold.[130]

Likewise, the popular appeal is evident when the printer remarked about the lucrative advantages of printing these satires. For example, in justifying a satire over Frederick's "pilgrimage" to the Netherlands, the printer commented:

> If the story of his pilgrimage were now
> Written,
> Think you that it would lie in the shop
> Unread?
> The common man would gladly buy it.[131]

Besides illustrated broadsheets, and sometimes incorporated within them, Frederick's detractors also published 'folk' songs in order to portray Frederick as a sinner whose defeat at White Mountain was his just rewards. When discussing 'folk' songs about Frederick, it should be remembered that most of these were actually commissioned by the Imperial party; consequently, one Czech scholar argues that

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[128] Ibid.
[129] Anon., *Einred und Antwort/ das ist: Ein Gespraech deß seinem Widersacher*. (n.p., 1621), in *Caricatures of the 'Winter King' of Bohemia*, ed. and trans. E.A. Beller, plate no. 17.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.

White Mountain marked the end of genuine folk songs in Bohemia.[132] However, Frederick and his supporters had certainly employed similar tactics before White Mountain when they commissioned Šimon Lomnický to write his coronation poem for Frederick. In this occasional piece, Lomnický presented the peasantry as crying out in dismay from Ferdinand II's oppression. After White Mountain, Imperial propagandist actually borrowed the same portions of this poem to have the peasantry complain about Frederick's "tyranny."[133]

Many of these 'folk' songs did take advantage of popular melodies and even liturgical music. For example, one song titled "Lamentation," was set to the tune of "Oh thou poor Judas, what hast thou done?" in order to reinforce the view that Frederick's actions were sins against a sacrosanct emperor.[134] Several other songs contrasted the "sinner" Frederick with the "pious" Maximilian in a manner that reflected the joint confessional heritage of the Neostoic movement of the late Renaissance, a movement which emphasized not only duty and honor, but also self-control over passions.[135] In one song, the Emperor and all Catholics in the Empire thanked Maximilian for defeating Frederick in a pious and stoic manner.[136] In another song, Frederick was a "spoiled child," who lost his continence as an elector by lusting after the attractions of the Bohemian crown, "Venus."[137] The song contrasted Frederick's willingness to cooperate with the Turks, the Empire's arch-enemy, with that of his ancestor Count Palatine Philipp of Wittelsbach. Phillip had demonstrated his piety in his loyalty to the Empire and the Habsburgs when he helped successfully defend Vienna in 1529 against the Turkish Sultan, Suleiman the Magnificent. On the

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[132] Irena Živsa, "Christentum und Säkularisierung in der deutschen Literatur," in *Bohemia sacra*, 384.

[133] Hubková, "Die Gelegenheitsdichtung von Šimon Lomnický von Budeč aus den Jahren 1619–1621," 210–224.

[134] Anon., "Lamentatio," in *Die historische-politischen Volkslieder des dreißigjährigen Krieges*, eds., F.W. von Ditfurth and K. Barsch (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1882), 18–19.

[135] For the importance of Neostoicism in this era, see especially Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*, eds. Brigitta Oestreich and H.G. Koenigsberger, transl. David McLintock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982. Bouwsma, *The Waning of the Renaissance, 1550–1640*, 153–156; Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince*, 72–101.

[136] Anon., "Ein fchön neues Lied," in *Die historische-politischen Volkslieder des dreißigjährigen Krieges*, eds., F.W. von Ditfurth and K. Barsch, 26–28.

[137] Anon. "Neu bohemische Venus," in *Die historische-politischen Volkslieder des dreißigjährigen Krieges*, eds., F.W. von Ditfurth and K. Barsch, 49–51.

other hand, "faithless Fred," seduced by Calvinism, had succumbed to "devilish ambition" which made him willing to ally himself with the Ottoman Turks, so that the Habsburgs could not get the Bohemian crown back. The song attempted to reveal how Frederick's alliance with the Turks evinced how much Calvinism had corrupted the virtues of the Palatine Wittelsbachs. Concomitantly, the song contrasted Frederick's actions with the deeds of Maximilian of Bavaria, whom the author emphasized was Frederick's relative. According to this song, Maximilian proved his piety and loyalty by his feats for the "honor of God and Emperor" at the Battle of White Mountain.[138] Indeed, it was the legitimacy of Ferdinand II's coronation as King of Bohemia and Bethlen's alliance with the Turks that Maximilian underscored when warning Frederick V not to accept the Bohemian crown in the first place.[139]

One 'folk' song incorporated into an illustrated broadsheet displayed the potential of the audio and visual possibilities inherent in this medium to refer to Frederick's loss of lands to Maximilian as a form of divine retribution.[140] The illustration depicted Frederick on the left with raised hands and kneeling near burning villages, and over his head was an ominous cloud with a protruding hand poised to shatter Frederick with a lightening bolt. In the song, he wailed "I am a very poor miserable sinner…Why am I Bavarian by birth? I am not worthy of such a high lineage."[141]

As much as Maximilian and Ferdinand II, as well as many others, hoped that Frederick would feel this way about taking the Bohemian crown and the subsequent losses of his title and lands, neither Frederick nor Elizabeth ever did.[142] They themselves also held to a sense of piety and personal honor that convinced them that suffering could be a sign of God's election.[143] Thus, for them it was a sin of falling short of

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[138] Ibid.

[139] Maximilian I to Friedrich V (Munich, 24. September, 1619), in *Quellen zur Vorgeschichte und zu den Anfängen des dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. G. Lorenz, 376–387.

[140] Anon., "Deß gweften Pfaltzgraf offen fchuldt,Wie ihn Scultetus lehrt Gedult," in *Die historische-politischen Volkslieder des dreißigjährigen Krieges*, eds., F.W. von Ditfurth and K. Barsch, 142–143.

[141] Ibid.

[142] Pursell, *The Winter King*, 123.

[143] Ibid.; Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, 142; see also Klaus Schreiner and Gerd Schwerhoff, eds., *Verletzte Ehre: Ehrenkonflike in Gesellschaften des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1995).

expectations rather than flirting with temptations. Just like the Catholic victors at White Mountain, Frederick and Elizabeth could identify themselves as the 'chosen people.' In fact, one of their most expensive wall tapestries in their court-in-exile at The Hague was a depiction of Moses and the Israelites wandering in the wilderness.[144] Experiences of exile actually caused many Calvinists to identify themselves even more with the ancient Israelites in what the historian Heiko Oberman labelled the "The Reformation of the Refugees."[145] Indeed, English literati in particular turned Frederick and Elizabeth from Protestant "conquerors" into Protestant "martyrs" following the defeat at White Mountain.[146] In one poem dedicated to Elizabeth, Sir Francis Wortley compared her sufferings and patience to Job's.[147] At Frederick's death in 1632, George Wither, who earlier had composed nuptial poems for Frederick and Elizabeth's wedding, published a translation of King David's Psalms in the Netherlands in which he claimed that Elizabeth's "virtues" had "conquered a Kingdome" for her "in the harts of many millions of people."[148] Later in Wither's commentary, he applied the Psalms to Elizabeth, stating that "there is no shame (most excellent Princesse) in the Crosse of Christ," and noted that David experienced similar trials: "He was exalted by God; &, yet, cast downe. He was annointed king, & yet enjoyed not the Kingdome."[149]

Just as the Imperial party could point to the "Anhalt-Office" documents about Frederick's clandestine dealings with Habsburg enemies, so too Frederick's party managed to capture revealing documents about the Imperial party. These documents uncovered secret agreements between the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs, Maximilian, and the pope to hand over the electoral title to Maximilian and have

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[144] Simon Groenveld, "Könige ohne Staat: Friedrich V. und Elizabeth als Exilierte in Den Haag 1621–1632–1661," in *Der Winterkönig*, eds. P. Wolf, et al., 173.

[145] Heiko Oberman, "*Europa afflicta*: The Reformation of the Refugees," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 83 (1992): 91–111.

[146] Miller, "From Conquerors to Martyrs," 85–96; id., *Falcký Mýtus*, 71.

[147] Sir Francis Wortley, *Vpon the consideration of the various Fortunes of the Blessed and most Vertuous Lady, ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF BOHEMIA* (York, 1642), 2. Rare book. Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com [accessed December 10, 2004].

[148] George Wither, *The Psalms of David Translated into Lyrick-Verse…* (Netherlands, 1632), 1. Rare book found in Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com [accessed December 10, 2004]; for his nuptial poems, see ch. 4.

[149] Ibid., 12–13.

Frederick's children raised Catholic.[150] In the same manner as the Imperial party published the "Anhalt-Office" papers, Frederick's supporters published their acquired documents known as the "Spanish-Office" papers (*Cancelleria Hispanica*). These latter documents served to confirm the suspicions of many international Calvinists that the Madrid-Vienna Habsburg axis was bent on wiping Protestantism off the face of Europe.[151] Heidelberg had already been one of the leading publishing centers for anti-Spanish propaganda before White Mountain.[152] Nevertheless, this new material provided further stimulus to the theme, and Puritans in New England frequently compared their own plight with that of the Palatinate during the Thirty Years' War.[153]

Besides the electoral title and Palatine lands, Frederick and Elizabeth hoped to recover Bohemia as well. The Battle of White Mountain did not end all of the fighting in Bohemian lands. Also, among the exiles in the Netherlands were diplomats for Dutch-Bohemian affairs.[154] Even after the Thirty Years' War, Elizabeth chided her eldest surviving son for omitting her title as "Queen of Bohemia" on a wedding treaty because it questioned the justness of Frederick's cause: "I wonder you shoulde do it, for leauing of it out, you doe me so much wrong as to the memorie of your dead father, as if you disapproued of his actions."[155] Indeed, it is not clear if an anonymous illustrated

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[150] P. Schmidt, *Spanische Universal Monarchie oder "teutsche libertet,"* 191–197; Jürgen Steiner, *Die pfälzische Kurwürde während des Dreißigjährigen Krieges (1618–1648)* (Speyer: Veröffentlichung der pfälzischen Gesellschaft zur Forderung der Wissenschaften in Speyer, 1985), 44–77.

[151] Ibid.; Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, 108; Pursell, *The Winter King*, 150; for the international Calvinist response, see also Mark Greengrass, "Samuel Hartlib and International Calvinism," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* 25 (1993): 469–474; Ole Peter Grell, *Dutch Calvinists in Early Stuart London: The Dutch Church in Austin Friars 1603–1642* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), 176; Keith Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower. English Puritan Printing in the Netherlands, 1600–1640* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994).

[152] P. Schmidt, *Spanische Universal Monarchie oder "teutsche libertet,"* 71; Gerhart Hoffmeister, "'Spannische Sturmglock (1604) und 'Spanischer Curier' (1620). Zur Verbreitung der Leyenda Negra in Deutschland II," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 61 (1979): 358–368.

[153] Peter Bergmann, "City Aflame, City on the Hill: Puritan Reactions to German Protestant Defeats," paper delivered at the German Studies Association Conference, Pittsburgh, 2006.

[154] Polišensky, *Tragic Triangle*, 247.

[155] Elizabeth Stuart to Charles Louis, February 27, 1651, in *The Letters of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia*, 183.

FRIDERICVS D.G. REX BOHEMIÆ.
Progenies Regi Bohemiæ.
ELISABETHA D.G. REGINA BOHEMIÆ.
HENRICVS 1. CAROLVS 2.
ELIZABETHA 3. ROBERTVS 4.
MAVRICIVS 5. LOYSE HOLANDINE 6.

Fig. 13. *Fridericus, D.g. rex Bohemiae. Elisabetha, D.g. regina Bohemiae. Progenies regi Bohemiae, Henricus, Carolus, Elizabetha, Robertus, Mauricius, Loyse Holandine*. Anon. n.p. n.d. Courtesy of the National Museum in Prague

broadsheet printed during the exile period was meant to support or mock Frederick's claims to the Bohemian crown. Although physically Frederick no longer possesed the crown of Bohemia, the broadsheet depicted him and his wife as the royal Bohemian family with crowns upon the heads of Frederick and Elizabeth (see figure 13).[156]

Despite the loss at White Mountain, Rosicrucian enthusiasts in particular did not give up their hopes, they just recalculated dates and identities.[157] In rather bad timing, one Rosicrucian prophecy published

[156] Anon., *Fridericus, D.g. rex Bohemiae. Elisabetha, D.g. regina Bohemiae. Progenies regi Bohemiae, Henricus, Carolus, Elizabetha, Robertus, Mauricius, Loyse Holandine* (n.p., n.d.), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 59.

[157] Gilly, "The 'Midnight Lion,' the 'Eagle' and the 'Antichrist'," 54.

just before the Battle of White Mountain predicted that the Midnight Lion would defeat the Antichrist.[158] Also, Catholics used prophecy as a source of vindication. For example, the Carmelite monk Domenico à Jesu-Maria, who acted as Maximilian's spiritual advisor at the time of White Mountain, claimed to have prophesied in August of 1620 that Maximilian would be victorious in battle.[159] Following Frederick's humiliating defeat, Catholic and Lutheran pamphleteers were quick to publish satirical accounts of the "Winter King" that mocked the lion theme.[160] Nevertheless, the same year as White Mountain, an anonymous broadsheet appeared titled "The consecrated, and thank God, still continuing Palatine-Bohemian Lion, who began as a Winter-Lion and is becoming a Summer-Lion."[161] A year later, Plaustrarius published a pamphlet in 1621 that incorporated prophecies associated with the return of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and Jan Hus into the eschatological scheme of Frederick's victory that would now take place in the years 1623–1625.[162] The power of prophecy to feed the hopes of those who originally expected so much more than Frederick was capable of may have been one factor in explaining why the area most associated with Hussite eschatology and the military legacy of Jan Žižka managed to hold out so long against the Habsburg armies: citizens of Tabor, supported by Dutch and Scottish musketeers, resisted Spanish troops until the 14th of November 1621.[163] Also, Mauritz of Hesse-Kassel continued to support Frederick even after the Protestant League dissolved in 1621.[164] Likewise, the Lusatian Jacob Boehme and the Silesian Christoph Kotter emphasized the trials of the faithful and imminent signs that Babylon was on its last throws.[165] Another exile from the Bohemian crown lands, Paul Felgenhauer, also published several Rosicrucian tracts inspiring hope. In one tract, Felgenhauer not only mentioned that Prague would become the New Jerusalem, but that Frederick would return gloriously to Prague in 1623. This same

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[158] Ibid.
[159] Chaline, *La Bataille de la Montagne Blanche*, 356.
[160] Gilly, "The 'Midnight Lion,' the 'Eagle' and the 'Antichrist'," 54; Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 73.
[161] Anon., *Confirmirter und (Gott lob) noch immerbleibender Pfaltz: Böhmischer angefangener Winter: und hinauß wehrender Sommer Löw* [plate 2] (n.p., 1620), in *Caricatures of the 'Winter King' of Bohemia*, ed. and trans. E.A. Beller, plate no. 2.
[162] Gilly, "The 'Midnight Lion,' the 'Eagle' and the 'Antichrist'," 53.
[163] Polišensky, *Tragic Triangle*, 247.
[164] Moran, *The Alchemical World of the German Court*, 32–33.
[165] Chaline, *La Bataille de la Montagne Blanche*, 350.

pamphlet also mentioned the "Spanish-Office" papers (*Cancelleria Hispanica*) as evidence for the Catholic conspiracy that confirmed this particular eschatological perspective.[166] Indeed, Felgenhauer, under the pseudonym "Postilion des grossen Löwen," published at least twelve pamphlets from 1621–1625 claiming that the Lion of the North would return.[167] And return he did, with a Swedish accent and in a heftier form than Frederick.

In time the Midnight Lion prophecy became solidly associated with Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, whose military victories far exceeded Frederick's.[168] There was a trial run, however, with Christian IV, King of Denmark and a close relative of Frederick, who shared his same luck: Christian IV's bid to be the Lion of the North led to his crushing defeat at the hands of the Imperial general Albrecht von Wallenstein at the Battle of Lutter (1626).[169] Christian IV was not only King of Denmark, but also the Duke of Holstein, and it was in this capacity as a German prince that he entered the Thirty Years' War, defending "princely liberties" against Habsburg "tyranny."[170] Gustavus Adolphus likewise combined dynastic concerns with his conviction that he was the new defender of Protestant liberties in the Empire when he became associated with the Midnight Lion.[171] Indeed, Adolphus's interest in Pomerania made him a rival Lutheran leader in the region to the Elector of Saxony, Johann Georg, who became his ally out of necessity.[172] The association between the Vasa dynasty and the Midnight Lion predated Gustavus Adolphus' entry into the Thirty

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[166] Anon. [Paul Felgenhauer]. *Complement Bon' Avisorum. Special neue Avisen/ welche der Postilion des grossen Löwes vom Geschlecht Juda hat gesehen in seinem Flore Prophetico* (n.p., 1621), 5, 11. Rare book. Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT.

[167] Gilly, "The 'Midnight Lion,' the 'Eagle' and the 'Antichrist'," 55; see also Vladimir Urbánek, "Proroctvi, astrologie a chronologie v dílech exulantů Paula Felgenhauera a Šimona Partlice," in *Víra nebo vlast?:exil v českých dějinách raného novověku*, ed. Michaela Hrubá, 156–173.

[168] Gilly, "The 'Midnight Lion,' the 'Eagle' and the 'Antichrist'," 58–59.

[169] Åkerman, *Rose Cross over the Baltic*, 140.

[170] Paul Lockhart, *Frederick II and the Protestant Cause: Denmark's Role in the Wars of Religion 1559–1596* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004); id., "Religion and Princely Liberties: Denmark's Intervention in the Thirty Years War, 1618–1625," *International History Review* 17 (1995): 1–22.

[171] Åkerman, *Rose Cross over the Baltic*, 158, 161–167; Michael Roberts, *Gustavus Adolphus. A History of Sweden 1611–1632* (Longman, 1962), 424; Pärtel Piirimäe, "Just War in Theory and Practice: The Legitimation of Swedish Intervention in the Thirty Year's War," *The Historical Journal* 45 (2002): 499–523.

[172] Roberts, *Gustavus Adolphus*, 434.

Years' War.[173] Already in 1605 there was a Rosicrucian claim that the Swedish king Charles IX was the Midnight Lion.[174] However, not just Protestants were active in recruiting Scandinavian assistance, so too were the Jesuits, whose labors in Scandinavia also predated the Thirty Years' War and bore fruit with the conversion of Adolphus' daughter Christina.[175]

Although Christina's abdication meant that the Jesuits' harvest in Scandinavia would not be as bounteous as they had hoped, it also indicated that both Protestants and Catholics recognized the value in courting political rulers. However, as Frederick's case demonstrates, political rulers could not satisfactorily substantiate their claims as defenders of the faith when they lost in the battlefield. Although military 'virtue' was Machiavelli's yardstick for all other princely virtues, it was still a virtue that most Renaissance humanists considered to be a classic expression of virtue's power to act.[176] Maximilian's victory at White Mountain did assist in legitimizing his claims as a prince with virtue in a confessionalized sense.[177] This hard reality also meant that the influence of Palatine Protestant leadership on the continent essentially ended at White Mountain. For example, before White Mountain, Frederick, like Maximilian, had been depicted in broadsheets as an Old Testament warrior like Gideon.[178] Likewise, just as Maximilian patronized the poet Jacob Balde; the famous Silesian Protestant poet who had spent time at Heidelberg, Martin Opitz, praised Frederick's princely virtues, including piety, in a panegyric that, unlike Balde's,

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[173] Åkerman, *Rose Cross over the Baltic*, 113.

[174] Ibid.

[175] Oskar Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia. Jesuit Educational Strategy 1555–1622* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992); id., *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia. The Age of Gustavus Adolphus and Queen Christina of Sweden, 1622–1656* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992).

[176] Jerrold Seigel, "*Virtù* in and since the Renaissance," in *Dictionary of the History of Ideas: Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas* 4:476–486 (New York: Scribners, 1973), 479; Thomas Menzel, "Der Fürst als Feldherr. Militärisches Handeln und Selbstdarstellung zwischen 1470 und 1550. Dargestallt an ausgewählten Beispielen" (Ph.D. diss., University of Eichstätt, 2001); Anton Schindling, "*Scarabaeus aquilam quaerit.* Humanismus und die Legitimation von Krieg und Frieden," in *Funktionen des Humanismus: Studien zum Nutzen des Neuen in der humanistischen Kultur*, eds. Maissen and Walther, 343–361.

[177] Michael Kaiser, "Maximilian I. von Bayern und der Krieg: zu einem wichtigen Aspekt seines fürstlichen Selbstverständnisses," *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 65 (2002): 69–99.

[178] Bachmann, 152–153.

was written before, not after White Mountain: "In all aspects of your life, King, you are a mirror of uprightness…."[179] However, five years after White Mountain, Emperor Ferdinand II actually crowned Opitz poet laureate (*poeta laureatus*) for his contributions to German literature and his pro-Imperial stance that he later adopted.

Frederick did participate in Gustavus Adolphus' invasion of Bavaria in 1632, but it was clear that Frederick was no longer the Midnight Lion.[180] This was painfully manifest when, within a short time after each other, Frederick died of natural causes and Gustavus Adolphus died in the Battle of Lützen (1632), and the international attention given to Gustavus Adolphus' funeral overshadowed Frederick's.[181] In fact, the mention of Frederick's funeral was only inserted in the back of one pamphlet describing the Battle of Lützen and Adolphus' death.[182] Frederick even suffered from greater anonymity due to the exigencies of war, since his coffin was last seen en route for burial at the Sedan, a fact that Jacob Balde exploited in a poem on the "Vanity of the World."[183] Nevertheless, in a sermon delivered at The Hague after the deaths of Frederick and Gustav Adolphus, at least Frederick's patronage and attempts at defending the faith led the author to assert that both Frederick and Gustavus were "two of the chiefest pillars of his Church, two of the chiefest Patrones of true Religion."[184] Indeed,

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[179] Martin Opitz, *Oratio ad Fridericum Regem Bohemiae*, in *Martin Opitz. Gesammelte Werke. Kritische Ausg.*, ed.Georg Behrendt Schulz (Stuttgart: Hivrsmann, 1968–), vol. 1, 170–181, quote on p. 172 line 16. The original Latin uses the term *speculum innocentiae*, but I have chosen the secondary meaning of *innocentia* because in this context it seems more appropriate with the tone of the ode; Wilhelm Kühlmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik und Fürstenstaat: Entwicklung und Kritik des deutschen Späthumanismus in der Literatur des Barockzeitalters* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1982), 8–9, 30–31.

[180] For Frederick's participation, see Pursell, *The Winter King*, 272–275; the few exceptions of identity transference that can be found before Gustavus entered the field are mentioned in Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Apokalypse und Philologie: Wissengeschichten und Weltentwürfe der frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2007), 183; Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages*, 361, footnote 1.

[181] Pursell, *The Winter King*, 277.

[182] Anon, *The Great and Famous Battle of Lvtzen…Here is also inserted an Abridgmen of the King's life and a Relation of the King of Bohemia's Death* (London [?], 1633). Rare book. Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com [accessed December 10, 2004].

[183] Pursell, *The Winter King*, 277; Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*, 184–185.

[184] Frederike Schlose, *The Death of the two renowned Kings of Sweden and Bohemia* (London, 1632), 1–2. Rare book. Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com [accessed December 10, 2004].

military exploits alone did not guarantee security. As Maximilian of Bavaria and Ferdinand II began to fear the successes of Wallenstein and distrust his motives, it came to the point that Ferdinand II had Wallenstein assassinated. Wallenstein himself had looked to the stars with Kepler as his advisor, but it could not stop his own from falling.[185]

There were several broadsheets printed just after the Battle of White Mountain that employed the Wheel of Fortune when describing Ferdinand's victory.[186] In one, the rise and fall of Frederick took visual form with Frederick sitting on the Wheel of Fortune being turned by Scultetus and Camerarius (see figure 14). The caption below the image made certain that the viewer recognized that this fortune was always the consequence of ambition: "oh ambition, you cursed desire, here one sees thy poisonous fruit."[187] In another broadsheet, an anonymous author cheapened all Rosicrucian prophecy associated with Frederick by associating its legitimacy with that of a gypsy fortuneteller.[188]

However, 'fortune' could also be used to dismiss the stigma of divine punishment associated with Frederick's defeat at White Mountain. For example, the Czech exile Pavel Stranský attributed Frederick's loss at White Mountain to the "fortune"of arms in his work *Republic of Bohemia* dedicated to the children of Frederick V.[189] Later, during the High Baroque, the authors of a biography of Frederick remarked that "this poor prince [Frederick V] was in truth worthier to have been born in a better time" and referred to his love of learning and "good nature."[190] Also, in another broadsheet published in Frederick's day,

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[185] Golo Mann, *Wallenstein* (Stuttgart: Europ. Bildungsgemeinschaft, 1974), 86–95, 653; Sheila Rabin, "Kepler's Attitude toward Pico and the Anti-Astrology Polemic," *Renaissance Quarterly* 50 (1997): 752.

[186] Anon., *Bëhmisches Glück und Unglücksradt* (n.p. n.d.), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 57; anon., *Dess gweften Pfaltzgrafen Glück und Unglück* (n.p., 1621), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 58.

[187] Anon., *Dess gweften Pfaltzgrafen Glück und Unglück* (n.p. n.d.), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 58.

[188] Anon., *Gründtliche Weissagung vom Heydelberger vermelt, was ihm ein Zigeinerin hat erzelt* (n.p., n.d.), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 71.

[189] Chaline, *La Bataille de la Montagne Blanche*, 447.

[190] Immanuel Weber and Christian Hofman von Hofmanswaldau, *Lebens-Geschichte, des weyland durchleuchtigisten Chur-Fuersten in der Pfaltz, Friedrich des*

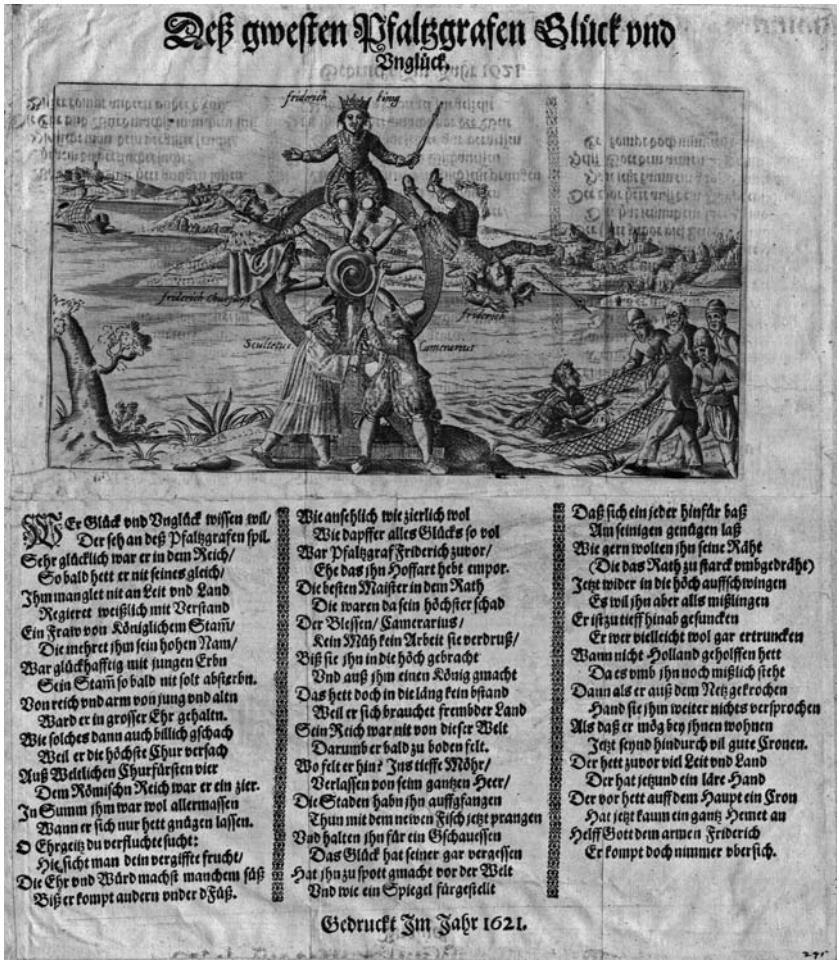
Deß gweſten Pfaltzgrafen Glück vnd Vnglück.
Scultetus
Camerarius
Friderich
Wer Glück vnd Vnglück wiſſen will/
Der ſeh an deß Pfaltzgrafen ſpil.
Sehr glücklich war er in dem Reich/
So bald hett er nit ſeines gleich/
Ihm manglet nit an Leit vnd Land
Regieret weißlich mit Verſtand
Ein Fraw von Königlichem Stam̃/
Die mehret jhm ſein hohen Nam/
War glückhafftig mit jungen Erbn
Sein Stam̃ ſo bald nit ſolt abſterbn.
Von reich vnd arm von jung vnd alten
Ward er in groſſer Ehr gehalten.
Wie ſolches dann auch billich gſchach
Weil er die höchſte Chur verſach
Auß Weltlichen Churfürſten vier
Dem Römiſchn Reich war er ein zier.
In Summ jhm war wol allermaſſen
Wann er ſich nur hett gnügen laſſen.
O Ehrgeitz du verfluchte ſucht:
Hie ſicht man dein vergiffte frucht/
Die Ehr vnd Würd machſt manchem ſüß
Biß er kompt andern vnder d Füß.
Wie anſehlich wie zierlich wol
Wie dapffer alles Glücks ſo vol
War Pfaltzgraf Friderich zuvor/
Ehe das jhn Hoffart hebt empor.
Die beſten Maiſter in dem Rath
Die waren da ſein höchſter ſchad
Der Bleſſen/ Camerarius/
Kein Müh kein Arbeit ſie verdruß/
Biß ſie jhn in die höch gebracht
Vnd auß jhm einen König gmacht
Das hett doch in die läng kein beſtand
Weil er ſich brauchet frembder Land
Sein Reich war nit von dieſer Welt
Darumb er bald zu boden felt.
Wo felt er hin? Jns tieffe Möhr/
Verlaſſen von ſein gantzen Heer/
Die Staden habn jhn auffgfangen
Thun mit dem neiven Fiſch jetzt prangen
Vnd halten jhn für ein Gſchauſſen
Das Glück hat ſeiner gar vergeſſen
Hat jhn zu ſpott gmacht vor der Welt
Vnd wie ein Spiegel fürgeſtelit
Daß ſich ein jeder hinfür baß
Am ſeinigen genügen laß
Wie gern wolten jhn ſeine Räht
(Die das Rath zu ſtarck vmbgedräht)
Jetzt wider in die höch auffſchwingen
Es wil jhn aber alls mißlingen
Er ſitzt zu tieff hinab geſuncken
Er wer vielleicht wol gar ertruncken
Wann nicht Holland geholffen hett
Da es vmb jhn noch mißlich ſtehe
Dann als er auß dem Netz gekrochen
Hand ſie jhm weiter nichts verſprochen
Als daß er mög bey jhnen wohnen
Jetzt ſeynd hindurch vil gute Cronen.
Der hett zuvor viel Leit vnd Land
Der hat jetzund ein lähre Hand
Der vor hett auff dem Haupt ein Cron
Hat jetzt kaum ein gantz Hemet an
Helff Gott dem armen Friderich
Er kompt doch nimmer vber ſich.
Gedruckt Jm Jahr 1621.

Fig. 14. *Dess gweften Pfaltzgrafen Glück und Unglück*. Anon. n.p., 1621. Courtesy of the National Museum in Prague

the depiction of the Wheel of Fortune was far more neutral than the one previously mentioned. In it, the four winds blew at the Wheel of Fortune. Death, personified by a winged man with a scythe and hourglass, was actually pulling the wheel. Likewise, both Frederick (symbolized by a lion) *and* Ferdinand II (represented by an eagle) were on the Wheel of Fortune.[191] The depiction of the Wheel of Fortune dates back to the Middle Ages and is not unlike a Jungian archetype that attempts to explain the nature of political power in this world.[192] Fittingly, the most famous expression of the workings of the Roman goddess Fortuna was in a series of songs about wine, love, and the ephemeral nature of this world composed in the thirteenth century at the Benedictine abbey of Beuren just south of Munich, the *Carmina Burana* ("Songs of Beuren"):

> Oh Fortune,
> like the moon
> ever changing,
> always you wax
> or wane;…
> she melts pomp,
> poverty and power
> like ice.[193]

Near the location of the Battle of White Mountain still stands the Star Palace (*Hvězda*) originally built as the summer residence for Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol while serving as viceroy for Bohemia in 1555.[194] The palace is shaped like a hexagram and built according to hermetic principles.[195] In addition, it may have inspired the architectural description in the utopian work *New Arcadia* by the Elizabethan poet Sir Phillip Sidney, the symbol of English Protestant chivalry, who had

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V., Carl Ludwig,… (Cologne: 1693), 51. Rare book. German Baroque Literature: Harold Jantz Collection, no. 1675. New Haven: Research Publications, 1973–1974. Text-film.

[191] Anon., *Bëhmisches Glück und Unglücksradt* (n.p., n.d.), in *Irrgarten der Schicksale. Einblattdrucke vom Anfang des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. M. Bohatcová, no. 57.

[192] For a variety of meanings of the wheel for alchemists in Jungian terms, see Carl Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, transl. by R.F.C. Hull, 2 ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

[193] "O Fortuna," in *Carmina Burana*, critical edition by Alfons Hilka and Otto Schumann, vol. 1 *Die Moralisch-Satirischen Dichtungen* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1930), 35.

[194] Evans, *Rudolf II and His World*, 27.

[195] Tilton, 202.

visited Prague.[196] In this sense, it is a visual reminder of the 'Palatine Myth' and the Rosicrucian offspring as promoted by English Protestants with Palatine ties. A prominent example was Paul Schede Melissus, the librarian of Palatine Heidelberg, who employed the Elizabethan cult for confessional usage there.[197] For the Palatine Wittelsbachs, White Mountain was literally a "disaster" in its Greek etymological meaning, "against the stars."

The attempt to transmute their age of 'iron'[198] into a 'Golden Age' proved disappointing for many earlier enthusiasts of the 'Palatine Myth' and its Rosicrucian manifestation. For example, the scholar Johann Heinrich Alsted became disillusioned with Rosicrucianism after White Mountain and began to focus more on the Millennium rather than an alchemist's inspired Golden Age.[199] One of his pupils was the polymath Jan Amos Comenius, a member of the Bohemian Brethren, who went into exile after White Mountain. In 1626, Comenius actually visited Frederick's court-in-exile at The Hague in an attempt to encourage Frederick's role as the Midnight Lion, but even Frederick did not want to hear about it by this time.[200] Later, Comenius may not have accepted an offer to become the president of Harvard College, but he did keep up a very transatlantic correspondence with Calvinists and fellow Bohemian Brethren at home and abroad.[201] Abraham Scultetus, Frederick's Calvinist court preacher, whose advice and actions played no small role in Frederick's alienation in Prague, abandoned Frederick after White Mountain in search for 'greener' pastures in Brandenburg where both Calvinism and Pietism would play important roles in the rise of Prussia.[202] Indeed, even there Rosicrucian forms sowed seeds for utopian gardens.[203] Both Jesuits

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[196] Victor Skretkowicz, "Symbolic Architecture in Sydney's New Arcadia," *The Review of English Studies* (1982): 177.

[197] Yates, *Austraea. The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century*, 119.

[198] For this usage of "iron," see Henry Kamen, *The Iron Century: Social Change in Europe, 1550–1660* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971).

[199] Hotson, 107, 203.

[200] Mout, "Der Winterkönig im Exil," 270.

[201] J.W. Schulte-Nordholt, "Comenius and America," *Acta Comeniana* 2 (1970): 195–200; Nicollette Mout, "'An Exile Makes All the World His Owne,' Comenius and his Life in Exile," *Acta Comeniana* 10 (1993): 75–88.

[202] Bodo Nischan, "Calvinism, the Thirty Years' War, and the Beginning of Absolutism in Brandenburg: The Political Thought of John Bergius," *Central European History* 15 (1982): 203–223.

[203] Douglas Shantz, "Politics, Prophecy and Pietism in the Halberstadt Conventicle, 1691–1694: Pietism and the Confessional State in Brandenburg," in *Confessionalism*

and the Hussite-inspired Moravian Brethren looked to the Americas for the establishment of a 'Golden Age.'[204]

Pietists in Frankfurt nurtured themselves with the utopian dreams of former Rosicrucian enthusiasts such as Johann Valentin Andreae and Jacob Boehme, as did the founder of the colony in America they inspired, Francis Daniel Pastorius.[205] Pastorius had roots in Bavaria and established the first permanent German settlement in North America, Germantown (1683). This settlement served as the launching ground for the much larger eighteenth-century immigration into Pennsylvania by German settlers of the war-torn lands of the Lower Palatinate.[206] The Palatinate had served as a showcase for Louis IV to make good his grandiose claim as the "Sun King" by casting his shadow over Heidelberg and turning the "Winter King's" former castle into ruins. Even today, the castle remains a ruin containing a remnant of a facade where classical maidens still stand as sentinels of its former glory. Neither Frederick nor Elizabeth ever crossed the Atlantic, or even returned to Heidelberg, but they did find a virtual escape in the 'Palatine Myth' by patronizing landscapes of Arcadia for their court-in-exile at The Hague.[207]

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and Pietism. Religious Reform in Early Modern Europe, ed. Fran van Lieburg (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 129–148, esp. 140–146.

[204] Markéta Křížová, "The Ideal City and Lost Paradise: The Society of Jesus and the Moravian Church in the New World," *Acta Comeniana* 15–16 (2002): 141–168; compare also with Campanella's earlier influential utopian hopes in the Spanish America's, see Anthony Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 51–53.

[205] John Weaver, "Francis Daniel Pastorius (1651–1720): Early Life in Germany with a Glimpse of His Removal to Pennsylvania" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Davis, 1985); Ernest Lashlee, "Johannes Kelpius and His Woman in the Wilderness. A Chapter in the History of Colonial Pennsylvania Religious Thought," in *Glaube, Geist, Geschichte*, eds. Gerhard Müller et al., 327–338 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967), 327–338; Christoph Neeb, *Christlicher Haß wider die Welt. Philosophie und Staatstheorie des Johann Valentine Andreae (Philosophie und Staatstheorie des Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1654)* (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1999).

[206] Stephanie Wolf, *Urban Village: Population, Community, and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1683–1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Phillip Otterness, *Becoming German: the 1709 Palatine Migration to New York* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004); Alison Olson, "Huguenots and Palatines" *Historian* 63 (2001): 269–285.

[207] Willem Jan Hoogsteder, "Die Gemäldesammlung von Friedrich V. und Elizabeth im Königshaus in Rhenen/Niederlande," in *Der Winterkönig*, eds. P. Wolf, et al., 204–205.

CHAPTER EIGHT

METAMORPHOSIS: THE PALATINATE IN TRANSITION AND THE "BOHEMIAN" COURT IN EXILE AT THE HAGUE

Of all the collection of paintings accumulated at the court-in-exile at The Hague, one painting never survived; it was the one titled the "Burning of Troy." Elizabeth gave it away early, perhaps because it was too close to home with the fall of Heidelberg in 1622 to Maximilian's general, Tilly.[1] On July 1, 1622, Tilly was just before the gates of Heidelberg, but the governor of Heidelberg, Heinrich van der Merven, had improved the city's defenses, and with the assistance of Dutch, English and French volunteers the Palatine army managed to hold out for two months before Bavarian and Croatian troops actually captured the city. The archeological remains at Heidelberg confirm the existence of a material court culture of high quality at Heidelberg before Tilly. Archeologists have also 'unearthed' the fact that from 1621–1622, Frederick's mint was still producing coins with the image of the Bohemian lion and the inscription *Rex Boehmiae Fridericus* ("Frederick, King of Bohemia").[2]

The international significance of the fall of Heidelberg is evident in a broadsheet published in French and Dutch by the pro-Habsburg Antwerp printer, Abraham Verhoeuen. The broadsheet mentioned specifically that Heidelberg's fame came from the establishment of its university in 1346, an event which made the Palatine Wittelsbach Ruprecht I, King of the Germans, the founder of the oldest university in Germany.[3] Verhoeuen then stated how the numerous vineyards, churches, and monasteries dotting the countryside dated back to the Carolingian era and complemented the Lower Palatinate's beauty. He then contrasted this idyllic landscape and the virtues of Ruprecht I

[1] Hoogsteder, 200–201.

[2] Renata Ludwig, Manfred Benner, Ulrich Klein, "Tilly vor Heidelberg. Neue Befunde zur Archäologie der frühen Neuzeit," in *Der Winterkönig*, eds. P. Wolf, et al., 132, 140.

[3] Abraham Verhoeuen, *Pourtraict de la ville de Heydelberch* (Antwerp, 1622). Rare book. Rare Books and Special Collections, Firestone Library, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ.

with the actions of Frederick who tried to seize the Bohemian crown, an action that led to the residence's conquest and occupation.[4] Thus, according to Verhoeuen, Frederick's deeds in Prague caused his Palatine lands "east of Eden" to produce grapes of wrath.

Following the Bavarian victory at White Mountain, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs did their best to incorporate the Palatine lands into the *pietas bavarica* while the Palatine Wittelsbachs attempted to perpetuate the 'Palatine Myth' in their court-in-exile at The Hague. In order to achieve these ends, both halves of the dynasty used the institutional tools of confessionalized Renaissance humanism as well as military might. As defenders of the faith, both halves of the dynasty enjoyed partial success. Maximilian obtained the long-desired Electoral title and ensured that the cadet branch of Neuburg under Wolfgang Wilhelm remained in his sphere of influence. However, Frederick and Elizabeth's heir, Karl Ludwig, obtained an eighth Electoral title, and only the Lower Palatinate became permanently subsumed under the *pietas bavarica*. Frederick and Elizabeth's attempts to maintain their dynastic and regal claims through patronage at their court-in-exile at The Hague alienated their Dutch hosts, just as they had earlier disenchanted many of their Bohemian supporters in Prague. Also, Frederick and Elizabeth's male heirs found military fame only in the service of their English and Dutch relatives. While several of Frederick and Elizabeth's daughters became prominent patronesses of the arts and sciences, only one perpetuated the dynastic myth through progeny. This chapter examines the mixed fate of a house divided by first focusing on Maximilian's efforts to enforce Catholic confessionalization in the Palatine lands under his control or influence, then concentrating on Elizabeth and Frederick's efforts to live like royalty at their court-in-exile at The Hague.

Just as at White Mountain, Maximilian took advantage of the material objects he found in Heidelberg to further augment his own prestige as a devout prince at the expense of Frederick. The most famous loot Maximilian took from Heidelberg was the renowned library collection, the *Bibliotheca Palatina*, established by the Wittelsbach Elector Palatine Ludwig III for the Holy Ghost Church court chapel in 1421. It is possible that this library also reflected Ludwig III's desire to make Palatine regal ambitions more visible after Ruprecht's former success as

[4] Ibid.

King of the Germans (1400).[5] As discussed in chapter 2, these dynastic and religious associations with the library became confesssionalized during the sixteenth century.[6] Indeed, not just book collecting, but book plundering became a source of both Catholic and Protestant cultural triumph during the Thirty Years' War.[7] Maximilian originally wanted to add the *Bibliotheca Palatina* to his own library in Munich.[8] Ferdinand II had his eyes on it as well, and he even sent counter-instructions to Tilly to keep it for his own collection in Vienna.[9] Even before Tilly entered the city, Frederick had frantically tried to have the books removed, but his remaining officials in Heidelberg were unable to do so because of the sheer volume of books involved.[10] After so much jostling, it was actually Pope Gregory XV who obtained the *Bibliotheca Palatina* for the Vatican Library in 1623. He received it after persuading Maximilian that this offering would be a testament to his piety, especially after the pope's efforts to have Frederick's electoral title transferred to Maximilian.[11]

Gregor of Valencia, Maximilian's former Jesuit educator and confessor, profoundly influenced Maximilian's personal sense of piety by introducing him into the very ascetic Castilian conception of piety. Maximilian carried a silent testament of this to his own grave. After his death, a scourge, hair shirt and other instruments of penance were found hidden in Maximilian's casket.[12] Indeed, all of Maximilian's confessors were Jesuits and had a profound impact on the shaping of the *pietas bavarica* during his rule: Gregor of Valencia (1587–1595), Johann Buslidius (1595–1623), Adam Contzen (1624–1635) and Johann Vervaux (1635–1651). Buslidius even accompanied Maximilian during the Battle of White Mountain.[13] Adam Contzen wrote a number

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[5] Elmar Mittler et al., eds., *Bibliotheca Palatina. Ausstellung der Universität Heidelberg in Zusammenarbeit mit der Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana. Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 8. Juli bis 2. November 1986 Heiliggeistkirche. Textband*, 3.

[6] Ibid., 4, 179–180; see also ch. 2.

[7] Jill Beplar, "*Vicissitudo Temporum*: Some Sidelights on Book Collecting in the Thirty Year's War," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 32 (2001): 953–967; Grafton, *Collectors, Collections, and Scholarly Culture*, 11–12.

[8] Albrecht, *Maximilian I. von Bayern*, 575–576.

[9] Hans-Otto Keunecke, "Maximilian von Bayern und die Entführung der Bibliotheca Palatina nach Rom," *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 19 (1978): 1407.

[10] Ibid., 1403–1404.

[11] Ibid., 1429–1433; Albrecht, *Maximilian I. von Bayern*, 576.

[12] Albrecht, *Maximilian I von Bayern*, 289.

[13] Ibid., 324; Wolfgang Behringer, "Falken und Tauben. Zur psychologie deutsche Politiker im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Problems in the Historical Anthropology of Early*

of important treatises defending Maximilian's Counter-Reformation activities during the Thirty Years' War.[14] Indeed, the Jesuits also played a seminal part in articulating the *pietas bavarica* in a manner that would include the newly confiscated Palatine lands. They were present at the fall of Heidelberg to Tilly's troops, and in honor of the victory, Tilly had them celebrate mass in Frederick's court chapel.[15]

Although Maximilian offered numerous endowments for Catholic institutions that he believed would provide for the spiritual and temporal welfare of all his subjects, he devoted most of his resources towards Jesuit educational establishments both before and after White Mountain. At the beginning of his reign, Maximilian created scholarships for the University of Ingolstadt and the Jesuit College there. He also endowed new Jesuit establishments in several locations such as Altötting (1600) and Amberg, capital of the Upper Palatinate (1638).[16] His concern over funding Jesuit Gymnasia reflected his desire to have well-educated leaders in both the state and church administrations of Bavaria, leaders that adhered to the Catholic faith as well as his own leadership.[17] It also explains why he put the Jesuits in control of the University of Heidelberg.[18] As already noted in chapter 3, the University of Heidelberg had been a hotbed for anti-papal criticism.[19] Indeed, from the time of Melanchton through the Thirty Years' War, universities played an important role in confessionalizing territories.[20] In 1620, there was already a proposal from the Roman Curia for a Jesuit college in Dillingen to counteract Heidelberg's influence in the region.[21]

Modern Europe, eds., R. Po Chia Hsia and R.W. Scribner (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1997), 226.

[14] Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War*, 86–90.

[15] Franz Maier, *Die bayerische Unterpfalz im Dreißigjährigen Krieg. Besetzung, Verwaltung und Rekatholisierung der rechtsrheinischen Pfalz durch Bayern 1621 bis 1649* (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1990), 131.

[16] P. Steiner, 253.

[17] Albrecht, *Maximilian I von Bayern*, 306.

[18] Volker Press, "Kurfürst Maximilian I. von Bayern, die Jesuiten und die Universität Heidelberg im Dreißigjährigen Krieg, 1622–1649," in *Semper Apertus. 600 Jahre Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg 1386–1986*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Springer, 1985), 314–370; Hammerstein, "Vom 'Dritten Genf' zur Jesuiten-Universität, 34–68.

[19] Hammerstein, "Vom 'Dritten Genf' zur Jesuiten-Universität," 39.

[20] Spitz, "The Importance of the Reformation for the Universities," 56; Oberman, "University and Society on the Threshold of Modern Times," 36–37.

[21] Oberman, "University and Society on the Threshold of Modern Times," 37.

Many students and professors at the University of Heidelberg had already fled before Maximilian began the process of 'converting' it. In 1626, Maximilian dismissed the remaining Calvinist professors. The Jesuits had been petitioning for control over the university, but Maximilian delayed prominent action until 1628 when he felt more secure about his legal possession of the Palatinate. In that year, Maximilian put the Jesuits in charge of the faculties of philosophy and theology. Nevertheless, there was still a serious shortage of funding, students, and professors that made it necessary to wait another year before reopening. Likewise, the fortunes of war meant that the Jesuits were never able to completely implement their reform program. For example, in 1631 the Swedes retook the city and expelled the Catholic professors and students. Even after its recapture by Bavarian troops in 1635, wartime constraints prevented the Jesuits from fully rehabilitating the philosophy and theology faculties of the university. With the restoration of Karl Ludwig in 1649, the Jesuits would not return to the University of Heidelberg for almost another fifty years.[22]

In 1625, Maximilian began implementing more forceful measures for conversion on the general populace in the Lower Palatinate on the right side of the Rhine. For example, he dismissed all the Calvinist ministers, teachers, and officials. A year later, he ordered his subjects in the region to convert. Nevertheless, the Catholic clergy complained that citizens attended sermons, but avoided the mass. Likewise, the local residents were still hoping for the reconquest of the Lower Palatinate by the Protestants. The Catholic clergy encountered the greatest resistance in the cities rather than the countryside.[23] It was not until Karl Ludwig regained the land in 1649 that all the Catholic priests had to leave their monasteries and parishes. Nevertheless, re-Calvinization did not come quickly or completely.[24]

The restoration of Catholicism in the Lower Palatinate on the left side of the Rhine controlled by the Spanish began with the Franciscans, who were initially concerned about the recovery of their monasteries confiscated by the Palatine rulers during the Protestant Reformation. Not long after, the Franciscans began attempts to convert the native population through extensive preaching and catechizing, to be joined

[22] Karl Hengst, *Jesuiten an Universitäten und Jesuitenuniversitäten* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1981), 157–161.
[23] Maier, *Die bayerische Unterpfalz im Dreißigjährigen Krieg*, 140–142.
[24] Ibid., 292.

later by the Carmelite and the Augustinian orders. They were all assisted in these efforts by the Bishop of Speyer and Brussels' papal nuncio, Guido di Bagno, who established the *Congregatio Palatinus* in 1623 and appealed to the Infanta of Spain and Archduchess of the Spanish Netherlands, Isabella Clara Eugenia, for assistance in the re-Catholicizing efforts. He felt the appeal was necessary since they were experiencing mixed success and little uniform guidance.[25] The same year that Guido di Bagno set up the *Congregatio Palatinus* (1623), Frederick's father-in-law, James I of England, attempted a political peace conference in Brussels, culminating in the failed ecumenical "Spanish Match" that would have wed his heir, Charles I with the Infanta, Maria Anna of Spain. Indeed, despite James's efforts, the confessional differences between Charles and Maria were too great for reconciliation.[26] Thus, the reason for the Infanta's more restrained reaction was Madrid's position that the territory was primarily a bargaining chip for later advantages to Spanish security. Indeed, it was not until 1625 that Guido di Bagno was able to get a firm commitment from the Infanta for the restoration of Catholicism in the Lower Palatinate on the left side of the Rhine, which began to be implemented more systematically by the governor, Don Verdugo.[27]

Guido di Bagno emphasized that Maximilian's progress in re-Catholicizing the Upper Palatinate should be seen as a model for the Spanish occupied territory.[28] Just like the later efforts in the French Revolution to secularize French society with a new calendar and dating system, these efforts also included reshaping the populace's daily rhythm and sense of time.[29] For example, in 1626 the Spanish in Kreuznach replaced the Julian calendar with the Gregorian calen-

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[25] Ann Egler, "Die Spanier in der Linksrheinischen Pfalz, 1620–1632. Invasion, Verwaltung, Rekatholisierung" (Ph.D., diss. University of Mainz, 1971), 117–123, 154.

[26] Two differing, but important works on the "Spanish Match" are Glyn Redworth's *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003) and Brennan Pursell's "The End of the Spanish Match," *The Historical Journal* 45 (2002): 699–726.

[27] Egler, 117–123, 154.

[28] Ibid., 124.

[29] For pre-industrial sense of sacred time, see Robert Scribner, "Cosmic Order and Daily Life: Sacred and Secular in Pre-industrial German Society," in *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. Kaspar von Greyerz, 17–31 (London: German Historical Institute, 1984); Peter Burke, "Reflections on the Cultural History of Time," *Viator* 2004 (35): 617–626; for the French Revolution see Eviator Zerubavel, "The French Republican Calendar: A Case Study in the Sociology of Time," *American Sociological Review* 42 (1977): 868–877; Michel Vovelle, "Dechristianisation in Year II:

dar, along with the celebration of its accompanying Catholic holidays. The same year, the Spanish governor required all the youth to attend Catholic schools and dismissed all the Calvinist school teachers and preachers. Likewise, in 1625 the Jesuits in Neustadt began actively replacing the Heidelberg Catechism with the Canisius Catechism after taking over the *Collegium Casimirianum* and the accompanying parish church. The Jesuits there also attempted to win the people over with their equally zealous efforts at visiting the hospitals and prisons. In 1626, the Jesuits were also active in Frankenthal, but there as well as elsewhere, the Catholic efforts were a mixed success in the Spanish period. This was a time which included serious resistance by the inhabitants of Frankenthal and Kreuznach who often chose exile over conversion. Indeed, in Frankenthal Calvinist teachers of the Dutch community managed to stay teaching until 1634 before being rooted out.[30]

An important factor which allowed Calvinist teachers and ministers to remain so long in the Lower Palatinate was the serious shortage of Catholic priests for the villages.[31] Just as important was the hope among the Calvinist faithful on both sides of the Rhine that the Wheel of Fortune would turn and Frederick would regain his Palatine lands. Frederick did not drive out the Spanish, but Gustavus Adolphus did. In 1632, he ended the Spanish occupation for all areas but Frankenthal. However, the Calvinist population soon found that the forced 'contributions' for the Swedish troops could be just as oppressive as the Spanish. Likewise, the Swedes attempted to enforce their own form of confessionalization by introducing Lutheran ministers into the region.[32] The most permanent influence Maximilian had on the Palatine lands was in the Upper Palatinate, which remained annexed to Bavaria even after the Thirty Years' War.

Confessionally 'possessing' the land continued to be an important element in Maximilian's efforts in the Upper Palatinate. With the end of Palatine power in the region, pilgrimage became one means of restoring Catholicism in the Upper Palatinate, just as it did in

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Expression or Extinction of a Popular Culture," in *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe 1500–1800*, ed. K. von Greyerz, 79–94.

[30] Egler, 128–131.

[31] Ibid., 134.

[32] Ibid., 134–135, 176–177.

Bohemia after White Mountain.[33] Also, like the Franciscans in the Spanish occupied region, members of the Franciscan and Benedictine orders were quick to retake their former monasteries in the Upper Palatinate.[34] However, the first Catholic priests to arrive in the newly conquered Upper Palatinate were two Jesuits, who accompanied the troops of the Catholic League.[35]

Just as in the Lower Palatinate, the Jesuits marked the restoration of Catholicism in the Upper Palatinate by holding mass at the court palace.[36] What they encountered was not a homogeneous Calvinist population, but rather the heterodox result of the failed efforts of the Palatine electors to enforce Calvinist confessionalization in the Upper Palatinate. This meant that besides some crypto-Catholics, many of the nobles, burghers, and peasants were actually not Calvinist but Lutheran. Initially at least, they offered a more open reception to the Catholic conquerors than did the Calvinists in the more confessionally uniform Lower Palatinate.[37] In Amberg, the capital of the Upper Palatinate, the Jesuits became very successful in attracting large crowds to view their Christmas plays once the Jesuits duties shifted from pastoral care of the troops to missionary work among the locals. Lutherans and crypto-Catholics had already been alienated by the Calvinist iconoclasm in the region, and many paintings and sculptures resurfaced from private possession once the Calvinists were no longer in power. Likewise, Jesuit musical performances during church services also brought large audiences; even their burial services attracted interest. However, the actual numbers of converts were quite few before 1625.[38]

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[33] Matthias Schöberl, "Vom pfälzischen *Teilstaat* zum bayerischen *Staatenteil*. Landesherrliche Durchdringungs- und Religionspolitik kurpfälzischer und kurbayerischer Herrschaft in der Oberen Pfalz von 1595 bis 1648" (Ph.D. diss. University of Regensburg, 2006), 230; for Bohemia see Martin Elbel, "Pilgrims on the Way of the Cross: Pilgrimage Practice and Confessional Identity in Early Modern European Lands," in *Frontiers of Faith: Religious Exchange and the Constitution of Religious Identities 1400–1750*, ed. Estzer Andor, 275–283 (Budapest: Central European University, 2001).

[34] Hermann and Anna Bauer, *Klöster in Bayern. Eine Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der Klöster in Oberbayern, Niederbayern und der Oberpfalz* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1993), 219, 266.

[35] Karl-Otto Ambronn and Achim Fuchs, *Die Oberpfalz wird bayerisch. Die Jahre 1621 bis 1628 in Amberg und der Oberpfalz* (Amberg: Staatsarchiv Amberg, 1978), 49.

[36] Rita Haub, *Collegium Ambergense. Die Jesuiten in Amberg* (Munich: Deutsche Jesuiten, 2003), 16.

[37] Ambronn and Fuchs, 49.

[38] Ibid., 50–55.

Before 1625, Maximilian was careful about leaving the Lutherans alone, because before then he was technically not yet ruler of the Upper Palatinate but merely the Imperial commissioner for Ferdinand II. Thus, until 1625, he concentrated on 'purging' the Upper Palatinate of Calvinists because they were not legally protected under the Peace of Augsburg. However, once he did become the *Landesfürst* (territorial ruler), he exercised his right as a territorial lord by the same peace treaty to enforce Catholic confessionalization in the Upper Palatinate.[39] From the beginning of Maximilian's conquest, he made sure his troops were prepared to suppress any sign of revolt among the Upper Palatinate's Protestant nobility.[40]

Tensions between Catholics and Lutherans in the Upper Palatinate had surfaced at the beginning. For example, there continued to be a shortage of church altars, since the artisans of Amberg were either not capable or willing to build them in a manner appropriate for Catholic liturgy. In 1627, over one hundred altars still had to be imported from Munich so that masses could be performed. Furthermore, in the churches now shared by both Lutherans and Catholics, Lutherans displayed resistance by playing their organ music longer and changing the clocks so that the Lutheran church services were given more time than the Catholics'. It also meant that bells would ring at the wrong time. Both the Calvinists and Lutherans also tried to maintain the Julian calendar against the introduction of the Gregorian calendar.[41] Maximilian had already encountered popular resistance by Protestants in Augsburg when he encouraged the new city council, dominated by Catholics, to use the Gregorian calendar in 1583.[42] The church-service resistance by the Lutherans in the Upper Palatinate was but another way of challenging Catholics with their own sense of sacred time.

In the Upper Palatinate, as elsewhere, the Jesuits placed a heavy emphasis on preaching and education, especially with their Gymnasia and catechisms.[43] Indeed, just as in Bohemia, the Jesuits in the Upper Palatinate used a variety of tactics ranging from persuasion to coercion

[39] Ibid., 52–54; Walter Ziegler, "Die Rekatholisierung der Oberpfalz," in *Um Glauben und Reich*, ed. H. Glaser, 437–438.
[40] Schöberl, 192.
[41] Ambronn and Fuchs, 54–56.
[42] Scott Dixon, "Urban and Religious Coexistence in the German Imperial City: Augsburg and Donauwörth, 1548–1608," *Central European History* 40 (2007): 12.
[43] Ambronn and Achim Fuchs, 50.

in order to confessionalize the region.[44] Their belief in the power of confessionalized education echoed the earlier efforts of Christian von Anhalt to spread Calvinist confessionalization in the region.[45] Already in 1624, the Jesuits had closed down the Calvinist *Pädagogium* and replaced it with a Jesuit Gymnasium.[46] The Upper Palatinate became another frontier for Jesuits aspiring to spread Tridentine Catholicism across the world. For example, the first rector of the Jesuit College in Amberg established in 1630, Caspar Hell, originally wished to go to the Indies, but his superior sent him to the Upper Palatinate instead. From 1625–1627, Maximilian ordered the dismissal of all Protestant clergy and teachers in the Upper Palatinate. Nevertheless, Bible-reading at home continued among the Protestants up to 1630 when the Jesuits countered by confiscating books.[47] Indeed, the Jesuits were not only prolific writers in Bavaria, they also acted as book censors following the guidelines from the Council of Trent.[48]

By the time of the Thirty Years' War, it appears that 'heretical' books were burned far more often than accused witches in Bavaria. Witch-hunting there was not a major means of suppressing religious dissent anymore than it had been in the Protestant Palatinate.[49] A significant example of the suppression of 'heretical' books was the great book-burning of 1630 in the former capital of the Upper Palatinate, Amberg, where Jesuits supervised the burning of over ten thousand 'heretical' books taken from all classes, but especially from farmers and handworkers.[50] Maximilian attempted to replace Protestant writings with Catholic ones and thus promote Catholic literary movements that could fill the void left by censorship. For example, Jesuits replaced the influx of foreign Protestant tracts with an intensive effort to translate

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[44] Peter Wolf, "Humanismus im Dienst der Gegenreformation. Exempla aus Böhmen und Bayern," in *Funktionen des Humanismus: Studien zum Nutzen des Neuen in der humanistischen Kultur*, eds. Maissen and Walther, 284–293.

[45] Schöberl, 231.

[46] Haub, 16; for Catholic confessional frontiers see R. Po Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 165–193.

[47] Ambronn and Fuchs, 20, 50, 56.

[48] Albrecht, *Maximilian I von Bayern*, 302–304.

[49] Wolfgang Behringer, *Hexenverfolgung in Bayern. Volksmagie, Glaubenseifer und Staatsräson in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg), 426–430.

[50] Ambronn and Fuchs, *Die Oberpfalz wird bayerisch*, 50.

Spanish devotional literature into German.[51] Like Anhalt earlier for Calvinist confessionalization in the region, the Jesuits were also very active in publishing there, and the Amberg press published two thousand Catholic catechisms in the year 1624 alone.[52]

Lutherans in the Upper Palatinate continued their passive resistance to Catholic conversion efforts which prompted Maximilian to begin using more coercive measures. He began quartering his soldiers in non-Catholic homes. Maximilian also attempted to crack down on Lutherans who absconded to border regions on Sundays for worship service by ensuring that on Sundays, the city gates were kept closed longer than usual. The large-scale conversion of the Upper Palatinate's Protestant identity to that of the *pietas bavarica* did not really begin until after Maximilian required Lutherans either to emigrate or convert to Catholicism in 1628.[53] Indeed, the greatest emphasis on popular conversion actually occurred after the Thirty Years' War and included voluntary as well as involuntary participation.[54] The material and political advantages that the Bavarian Wittelsbachs gained with the permanent annexation of the Upper Palatinate were significant. It greatly facilitated Karl Albrecht's accession to the Imperial throne in the 1740s and the rise of Bavaria as a kingdom during the Napoleonic era.[55] Maximilian's efforts in the Upper Palatinate also demonstrated that he was committed to both the Counter Reformation and the Catholic Reformation: he demanded conversion to Catholicism from all his subjects whether they wished it or not, but he also expected his clergy to be good moral examples and was quick to dismiss any who did not live up to the Tridentine ideal.[56] The dedication of the Jesuits

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[51] Albrecht, *Maximilian I von Bayern*, 302–304; Guillaume van Gemert, "Teresa de Avila und Juan de la Cruz im deutschen Sprachgebiet. Zur Verbreitung ihrer Schriften im 17. und im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Frömmmigkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit. Studien zur religiösen Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, ed. D. Breuer, 77–107.

[52] Ambronn and Fuchs, 50.

[53] Ibid., 56–57.

[54] Johnson, "Defining the Confessional Frontier," 163–166; Marc Forster, "Catholic Confessionalism in Germany after 1650," in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700,* 227–242; idem, "With and Without Confessionalization: Varieties of Early Modern German Catholicism," *Journal of Early Modern History* 1 (1997): 315–343.

[55] Johnson, "Defining the Confessional Frontier," 153.

[56] Karl-Otto Ambronn and Achim Fuchs, 58; Sigrun Haude, "Social Control and Social Justice under Maximilian I of Bavaria (r. 1598–1651)," in *Politics and Reformations: Communities, Polities, Nations and Empires. Essays in Honor of Thomas A. Brady, Jr.*, eds. Ocker, et al., 423–440.

in particular was evident in 1634 when eleven Jesuits in Amberg died attempting to administer to people afflicted with the plague.[57]

The process of integrating the newly converted Catholic Palatine Count of Neuburg, Wolfgang Wilhelm, and his territories into the *pietas bavarica* under Maximilian's leadership also continued throughout the Thirty Years' War. It was primarily thanks to Maximilian's prestige, gained at White Mountain as a defender of the Catholic faith in the Empire, that the renowned Flemish painter Peter Paul Rubens was willing to accept commissions from Maximilian as well as Wolfgang Wilhelm. This was unusual, since Rubens normally only accepted commissions from enthroned dynasties.[58] Thus, the impressive collection of Rubens' paintings housed in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich began well before Elector Max Emanuel (1679–1726), through the patronage efforts of Maximilian and Wolfgang Wilhelm. Although Maximilian only commissioned hunting scenes from Rubens, Wolfgang Wilhelm commissioned four altarpiece paintings that expressed his devotion to the Catholic faith while simultaneously promoting the Catholic Reformation in his lands. Rubens himself recognized that even though Wolfgang Wilhelm was a lightweight in terms of international power, Wolfgang Wilhelm's lands in the Jülich-Cleve region were strategically important for the Spanish Habsburg efforts in the Netherlands.[59]

The Papal Curia was also far from ignorant of the geo-political significance of Wolfgang Wilhelm's holdings in the Empire. For example, several popes attempted to push Wolfgang Wilhelm out of political neutrality during the war and give greater support to Maximilian and the Catholic cause. They did so by arguing it was Wolfgang Wilhelm's duty as a pious prince to act as defender of the faith.[60] Pope Gregory XV warned him as early as 1621 to demonstrate this true

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[57] B. Duhr, S.J., *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*, vol. 2, (Freiburg: Herder, 1907–1928), 154.

[58] Konrad Renger, *Peter Paul Rubens Altäre für Bayern* (Munich: Bayerische Staatsgemälde Sammlungen, 1991), 10–11, 14.

[59] Ibid., 9, 21; Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567–1659*, 252; Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Princes and Artists. Patronage and Ideology at Four Habsburg Courts 1517–1633*, 116–152.

[60] Mario Rosa, "The 'World's Theatre': The Court of Rome and Politics in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century," in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 78–98; Josef Krasenbrink, *Die Congregatio Germanica und die Katholische Reform in Deutschland nach dem Tridentium* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1972), 264–288.

"nobility."[61] However, Wolfgang Wilhelm believed that the Golden Bull of 1356 meant that he was entitled to acquire Frederick's electoral title as the senior member of the Palatine line that had not rebelled against the Emperor.[62] Nevertheless, Wolfgang Wilhelm was sincere in his Catholic devotion and affection for the Jesuits. In the same year, he even petitioned Gregory XV for the canonization of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier.[63] Gregory XV responded to this request by telling Wolfgang Wilhelm that he was pleased with his desires, but reminded him that his own "nobility" was best demonstrated by defending the Catholic faith with arms.[64] By 1624, Urban VIII had become pope, and he wrote several letters to Wolfgang Wilhelm praising his "nobility" for at least making progress in confessionalizing his own lands by casting "heretics" out of his territories.[65] Nevertheless, Urban VIII did feel compelled to admonish him in his princely duty to use martial means to protect and expand the monasteries in his lands.[66] Not long after, Urban VIII also wrote to King Phillip IV of Spain requesting that the king help Wolfgang Wilhelm carry out this duty.[67]

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[61] Gregory XV to Wolfgang Wilhelm (Rome, 1621 March 6), in *Die Korrespondenz Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg mit der römischen Kurie*, ed. H. Kühn-Steinhausen, 185.

[62] Wolfgang Wilhelm to Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi (Vienna, 1621 April 4), in *Die Korrespondenz Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg mit der römischen Kurie*, ed. H. Kühn-Steinhausen, 186; Volker Press, "Fürstentum und Fürstenhaus Pfalz-Neuburg. Die Dritte Wittelsbachische Kraft," in *Gustl Lang. Leben für die Heimat*, ed. Konrad Ackermann (Weiden: Verlag 'Der Neuen Tag', 1989), 263.

[63] Wolfgang Wilhelm to Gregory XV (Neuburg, 1621 October 1), in *Die Korrespondenz Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg mit der römischen Kurie*, ed. H. Kühn-Steinhausen, 189.

[64] Gregory XV to Wolfgang Wilhelm (Rome, 1621 December 1), in *Die Korrespondenz Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg mit der römischen Kurie*, ed. H. Kühn-Steinhausen, 190; Sebastian Schütze, "Liturgie und Herrscherpanegyrik im Pontifikat Urbans VIII.-Beobachtungen zum Hochaltarziborium von St. Peter in Rom," in *Religion und Religiosität im Zeitalter des Barock*, ed . Dieter Breuer, vol. 1, 353–374.

[65] Urban VIII to Wolfgang Wilhelm (Rome, 1624 February 24), in *Die Korrespondenz Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg mit der römischen Kurie*, ed. H. Kühn-Steinhausen, 191; Urban VIII to Wolfgang Wilhelm (Rome, 1624 March 16), in *Die Korrespondenz Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg mit der römischen Kurie*, ed. H. Kühn-Steinhausen,193–194; Urban VIII to Wolfgang Wilhelm (Rome, 1624 May 19), in *Die Korrespondenz Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg mit der römischen Kurie*, ed. H. Kühn-Steinhausen, 195.

[66] Urban VIII to Wolfgang Wihelm (Rome, 1624 May 14), in *Die Korrespondenz Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg mit der römischen Kurie*, ed. H. Kühn-Steinhausen, 194.

[67] Urban VIII to Phillip IV (Rome, 1624 August 29), in *Die Korrespondenz Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg mit der römischen Kurie*, ed. H. Kühn-Steinhausen, 197.

In 1627, Wolfgang Wilhelm wrote to Urban VIII giving a report of how his brother-in-law, Maximilian of Bavaria, and the Emperor Ferdinand II assisted him in these confessionalizing efforts.[68] Urban VIII greeted Wolfgang Wilhelm's report with a letter expressing his joy over this demonstration of "noble" virtue.[69] Within the same month, Wolfgang Wilhelm sent another letter describing how Maximilian was lending him aid in crushing the "false opinions of Luther" in his territories by expelling Lutheran ministers, teachers, and preachers and replacing them with their Catholic counterparts, especially Jesuits.[70] Urban VIII sent a letter to Ferdinand II praising Wolfgang Wilhelm's actions as proof of his true "nobility."[71]

When Wolfgang Wilhelm's wife, Magdalena of Bavaria, died in 1628, Urban VIII would only grant him a dispensation to marry his Palatine relative, Katherina Elisabeth Charlotte of Zweibrücken, if she converted to Catholicism.[72] Urban VIII would not give him the dispensation because she would not cross the line, so Wolfgang Wilhelm managed to obtain one from the Bishop of Utrecht which revived the papacy's suspicion over the sincerity of Wolfgang Wilhelm's own conversion. In an attempt to quell fears about this marriage arrangement, Wolfgang Wilhelm wrote to Cardinal Giovanni Francesco di Bagni to assure him that their children would be raised Catholic.[73] The Jesuit Valentin Mangione expressed his hope that Katherina Elisabeth Charlotte herself would convert to Catholicism.[74] After the

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[68] Wolfgang Wilhelm to Urban VIII (Neuburg, 1627 October 21), in *Die Korrespondenz Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg mit der römischen Kurie*, ed. H. Kühn-Steinhausen, 202–203.

[69] Urban VIII to Wolfgang Wilhelm (Rome, 1627 December 4), in *Die Korrespondenz Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg mit der römischen Kurie*, ed. H. Kühn-Steinhausen, 203.

[70] Wolfgang Wilhelm to Urban VIII (Neuburg, 1627 December 8), in *Die Korrespondenz Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg mit der römischen Kurie*, ed. H. Kühn-Steinhausen, 203.

[71] Urban VIII to Ferdinand II (Rome, 1628 January 8), in *Die Korrespondenz Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg mit der römischen Kurie*, ed. H. Kühn-Steinhausen, 205.

[72] Urban VIII to Wolfgang Wilhelm, (Rome, 1629 September 15), in *Die Korrespondenz Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg mit der römischen Kurie*, ed. H. Kühn-Steinhausen, 207–208.

[73] Wolfgang Wilhelm to Cardinal Giovanni Francesco di Bagni (Düsseldorf, 1631 May 24), in *Die Korrespondenz Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg mit der römischen Kurie*, ed. H. Kühn-Steinhausen, 226–228.

[74] P. Valentin Mangione S.J. to Wolfgang Wilhelm (Cologne, 1631 September 24), in *Die Korrespondenz Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg mit der römischen Kurie*, ed. H. Kühn-Steinhausen, 230.

Swedes had entered the fray in 1632, culminating with the Peace of Prague in 1635, even Urban VIII eventually offered his blessing to Wolfgang Wilhelm's second marriage.[75] Nevertheless, five years later, Urban VIII felt compelled to warn Wolfgang Wilhelm that if he did not arrange a Catholic marriage for his heir, Phillip Wilhelm, his "virtue" and "nobility" would be at stake.[76] Wolfgang Wilhelm did arrange a Catholic marriage for his heir as well as continue to spread Catholic confessionalization throughout his territories, events which caused Urban VIII to shower Wolfgang Wilhelm with praises for his princely "virtue" and "nobility."[77]

Wolfgang Wilhelm had also been delivering on his promise to raise all his children Catholic after he himself had converted. Actually, Wolfgang Wilhelm's own humanist educational experience with foreign languages benefited his dynastic and confessional interest, since his entire correspondence with the Roman Curia was in Latin and Italian. The new ties with Bavaria, following his first marriage with Magdalena of Bavaria, Maximilian's sister, likewise meant participation in the Catholic Baroque with its accompanying Spanish influence. Several instances of this were evident in Wolfgang Wilhelm's instructions for his son's tutor. For example, in addition to the traditional Latin, French, and Italian, the Neuburg prince was also supposed to learn Spanish.[78] Likewise, the tutor was to make certain that the prince wore traditional Spanish dress for mass.[79] Furthermore, there was a reference to the prince's *guardaroba*, the Spanish term for the keeper of the wardrobe.[80] It is also significant that Wolfgang Wilhelm

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[75] Wolfgang Wilhelm to Urban VIII (Vienna, 1635 May 5), in *Die Korrespondenz Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg mit der römischen Kurie*, ed. H. Kühn-Steinhausen, 240.

[76] Urban VIII to Wolfgang Wilhelm (Rome, 1640 February 11), in *Die Korrespondenz Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg mit der römischen Kurie*, ed. H. Kühn-Steinhausen, 263.

[77] Urban VIII to Wolfgang Wilhelm (Rome, 1641 May 15), in *Die Korrespondenz Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg mit der römischen Kurie*, ed. H. Kühn-Steinhausen, 278; Urban VIII to Wolfgang Wilhelm (Rome, 1642 October 4), in *Die Korrespondenz Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg mit der römischen Kurie*, ed. H. Kühn-Steinhausen, 280.

[78] Wolfgang Wilhelm to Johann Berkram (Neuburg, 1621), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 127.

[79] Ibid., 128.

[80] Ibid., 131; Samuel John Klingensmith, *The Utility of Splendour: Ceremony, Social Life and Architecture at the Court of Bavaria*, eds. Christian F. Otto and Mark Ashton (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 63.

chose to send his instruction on St. Michael's Day (September 29) and state such in the instruction.[81] As discussed in chapter 2, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs chose to associate themselves with St. Michael, and they even had the magnificent Jesuit church St. Michael's built in Munich containing sculptures of St. Michael slaying the devil. This motif served to remind viewers of the Bavarian Wittelsbachs' role as the ultimate victors in defending the Catholic Church against Protestantism.[82] One prominent articulator of the *pietas bavarica*, the Jesuit neoclassical poet Jacob Balde, became a tutor and confessor for Wolfgang Wilhelm's son, Philipp Wilhelm, who later in life (1685–1690) became the Palatine Elector following the extinction of the Palatinate-Simmern line with the death of Frederick V's grandson, Elector Karl II.[83] The political tensions in the Electoral Palatinate over inheritance rights culminated in the Palatine War of Succession (1688–1697) when Louis XIV challenged Philipp Wilhelm by claiming the Palatine inheritance based on his niece Liselotte of the Palatinate, daughter of Elector Karl Ludwig and wife of Duke Philip I of Orléans, brother of Louis XIV.

Wolfgang Wilhelm had earlier admonished another tutor of Philipp Wilhelm to make sure that his son not only attended mass daily, but that monthly he also had his conscience "examined" before the court confessor. He also stipulated that the confessor should preferably be a Jesuit.[84] Wolfgang Wilhelm also wanted his tutor to guard the young prince from "heretical" books that were "forbidden" and to have all books be examined first by the preceptor or the confessor.[85] It is also clear from the same instruction that Wolfgang Wilhelm feared that his son might follow his own example and change religions. Indeed, he used almost the exact same wording that his father used when admonishing Wolfgang Wilhelm's tutor to protect his son from different beliefs. For example, he instructed the tutor to not allow his son to be "stained" by all other "opinions, sects or error," "no matter what

[81] Wolfgang Wilhelm to Johann Berkram (Neuburg, 1621), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 139.
[82] J.C. Smith, 68–75.
[83] Wilfried Stroh, "'Zerbrich das Saitenspiel!' Die Lebensgeschichte des Jacobus Balde S.J. (1604–1668) nach dem Neuburger Nekrolog," *Literatur in Bayern* 11 (1988): 13–16.
[84] Wolfgang Wilhelm to Johann Berkram (Neuburg, 1621), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 123–125.
[85] Ibid., 132.

they are called."[86] Also, like his father, he had confidence that the institutional resources of the church would buttress his son's commitment to his faith. Wolfgang Wilhelm insisted that before all else, the tutor should make sure that the son be instructed in virtue and the "true Christian, Catholic and only saving religion" by means of articles of faith established at the Council of Trent and Canisius's Catechism.[87]

Just as his father had offered advice for Wolfgang Wilhelm's brothers' tutor on how to decline invitations to attend Catholic or Calvinist ceremonies, so too Wolfgang Wilhelm gave advice to the tutors as to what they should say when declining an invitation for his son to attend a Lutheran or Calvinist meeting or sermon. First, Wolfgang Wilhelm made it clear that the social rank of the inviter did not matter, but that the tutor was to excuse himself and state that he belonged to "the Catholic and only saving Roman Church maintained from the apostles until this time and confirmed with many martyrs" and that he had received "an express and earnest command to keep away from these."[88]

Wolfgang Wilhelm's admonition that his son be instilled with *Gottesfurcht* (fear of God) so that he could fulfill his dynastic destiny as a defender of the faith was consonant with what his father had hoped he would do as a Lutheran[89]—in truth, with what all the Wittelsbachs hoped for their children. The implementation of a humanist education designed to meet the perceived needs of the Lutheran, Calvinist, and Catholic Wittelsbach princes was the essence of confessionalized humanism and reflected their common aim of creating a God-fearing prince. The grand difference was that in the confessional age, different confessions did not agree on what it meant to 'fear' rather than 'offend' God.

Frederick V and Elizabeth had feared that their own children and inheritance would also become subsumed under the umbrella of the *pietas bavarica* like the cadet branch of Neuburg. As Frederick's military encounters demonstrated, he was not prepared to fulfill the duty of kings since the Middle Ages: defend the realm. However, Frederick

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[86] Wolfgang Wilhelm to Johann Berkram (Neuburg, 1621), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 120.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid., 125–126.
[89] Wolfgang Wilhelm to Johann Berkram (Neuburg, 1621), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 122.

did try to fulfill his duty as 'defender of the faith' because his sense of dynastic identity was inseparably intertwined with religion; he simply was not as successful on the battlefield as either his uncle Maurice of Orange or his cousin Maximilian of Bavaria. Frederick, like Maurice and Maximilian, also recognized the potential of a confessionalized education to prepare progeny for their future roles as defenders of the faith. This is evident by the fact that Frederick made it explicit in his will that he wanted his children raised as Calvinists in the United Provinces. This sense of dynastic religious devotion and responsibility to act as *tutores religionis* (defenders of the faith) was an important social bond between the houses of Orange and Wittelsbach.[90] Stadholders were supposed to function in the monarchial capacity as defenders of the faith just like their German counterparts in the Empire.[91] Also, since the National Synod of Dordrecht in 1618–1619, the Heidelberg Catechism itself played an important role in the United Provinces when it came to confessional education.[92]

In 1623 Frederick and Elizabeth visited the *Prinsenhof* (Princes' Court) of Frederick's uncle, Prince Maurice of Orange, in Leiden. They determined that Frederick's former tutor, Lord Plessen, and Plessen's wife, would educate their children Frederick Henry, Ruprecht and Louise-Hollandine.[93] While at the *Prinsenhof* in Leiden, Frederick and Elizabeth's sons each had their own tutor and the four daughters were under the tutelage of one governess, Plessen's spouse, who had come from Heidelberg with her two daughters. The theologian, Heinrich Alting, another of Frederick's former tutors, regularly drilled all the

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[90] Heinz Schilling, "The Orange Court: The Configuration of the Court in an Old European Republic," in *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility* eds. R.G. Asch, et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 453.

[91] Olaf Mörke, "Sovereignty and Authority. The Role of the Court in the Netherlands in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century," in *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility*, 459; id., "Das Haus Oranien-Nassau als Brückenglied zwischen den politischen Kulturen der niederländischen Republik und der deutschen Fürstenstaaten," in *Oranien-Nassau, Die Niederlande und das Reich*, ed. Horst Lademacher (Münster: Zentrum für Niederlande-Studien, 1995), 52–53.

[92] Leendert Groenendijk, "The Reformed Church and Education during the Golden Age of the Dutch Republic," *Nederlandsch Archieef voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 85 (2005): 67–68.

[93] Marika Keblusek, "The Bohemian Court at the Hague," in *Princely Display: The Court of Frederick Hendrik of Orange and Amalia van Solms in the Hague*, ed. id., and Jori Zijlmans, 47–57 (The Hague: Historical Museum; Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 1997), 50.

children in moral principles.[94] The difference between the Calvinist court world and that of the Bavarian meant that English and Dutch, rather than Spanish, were added to the traditional training that several of the children received in French, Latin, and Italian.[95] The oldest daughter, Elisabeth, went with her grandmother, Louise-Juliana of Orange, to Brandenburg where Louise-Juliana educated her in a rigorous Calvinist setting for eight years in Berlin and Krossen on the Oder before returning Elisabeth to her parents at The Hague.[96]

From the surviving study plans for Frederick Henry from 1623–1624, it is clear that Frederick and Elizabeth still hoped to have Frederick Henry raised as the future King of Bohemia, with the expectations that he not only learn Latin, French, and English, but also Czech.[97] Indeed, he remained a figure of interest for English imbibed in the 'Palatine Myth,' as was evident in an account of one of Frederick Henry's travels published in London in 1623 that still referred to him as the "Prince of Bohemia."[98] The fact that it was published anonymously is probably indicative of a fear of reprisal since James never recognized Frederick's title as King of Bohemia.[99] All of Frederick and Elizabeth's children learned rhetoric, history, geography, drawing, dancing, and lute performance. However, only the male children engaged in physical exercises and studied mathematics with an emphasis on military application. Likewise, only the girls learned embroidery.[100] In the early morning, common to both sexes was Bible-reading, prayers, and memorization of the Heidelberg Catechism—all to be accomplished before breakfast. Following breakfast, different teachers instructed them until lunch when the girls regrouped with the boys. After lunch, they rested for two hours and then studied again until six o'clock. On each Wednesday and Sunday there were either two ministers or two profes-

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[94] Alheidis von Rohr, "Die Pfalz-Kinder: Timon, Le Diable, Willfull Ned, Signora Antica,Mademoiselle sans façon und die Successio Britannica," in *Der Winterkönig*, ed. P. Wolf, et al., 208.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid., 213.

[97] *Methodus Studiorum Illustrissimi Principis Friderici Henrici, Palatini Rheni etc.* (Hague, 1623–1624), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 319, 320.

[98] Anon., *A Iovrnall of the Voyage of the Prince Fredericke Henry, Prince of Bohemia*…(London, 1623). Rare book. Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com [accessed March 1, 2007].

[99] Miller, "From Conquerors to Martyrs," 91.

[100] Keblusek, 50–51.

sors who attended dinner with them. Although sometimes there were outings, dances, concerts, and important court ceremonies,[101] daily life was so rigidly organized that one princess, Sophie, later commented that it was like a "convent."[102]

In 1628, Frederick and Elizabeth's other children, Karl Ludwig, Elisabeth and Maurice, began to live with their parents in The Hague and attend the *Prinsenhof*. When the sons finished their education in Leiden, they were either sent to the University of Utrecht or gained military experience serving either in the King of England's army or that of the Prince of Orange, while their sisters went back to their parents at The Hague. In 1641, the final child finished his education at the *Prinsenhof*, and Elizabeth gave the city of Leiden a large silver goblet as a token of her appreciation.[103]

In the J. Paul Getty Center in Los Angeles there are double portraits painted by two eminent Dutch painters from Leiden depicting two of Frederick and Elizabeth's sons with their tutors during their stay in Leiden in 1631. These portraits speak volumes when it comes to understanding Wittelsbach sense of identity born from the wedding between confessional faith and Renaissance humanism: Jan Lieven's painting portrays prince Karl Ludwig as the young Alexander the Great next to his tutor, Wolrad von Plessen as Aristotle (see figure 15); Gerard Dou's painting presents prince Ruprecht as the Old Testament prophet Samuel, and his tutor (probably Jan Orlers) as the priest Eli (see figure 16).[104]

An important reason why the Bohemian Estates had chosen Frederick to be king was because of his confessional connections to the House of Orange.[105] However, just as with the Bohemian Estates, Frederick and Elizabeth managed to alienate the Estates of Holland in their court-in-exile at The Hague. In many respects it was a clash between Renaissance values rooted in their original bourgeois form in fiscal soundness and republican independence versus the type of Renaissance patronage and display embraced by princes at their courts. These tensions frequently expressed themselves in financial

[101] Ibid.; see also Sophie, Electress of Hannover, *Memoiren der Herzogin Sophie nachmals Kurfürstin von Hannover*, ed. Adolf Köcher (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1879), 34–35.
[102] Sophie, Electress of Hannover, *Memoiren der Herzogin Sophie nachmals Kurfürstin von Hannover*, ed. A. Köcher, 35.
[103] Keblusek, 51.
[104] Hoogsteder, 197.
[105] Polišensky, *Tragic Triangle*, 130.

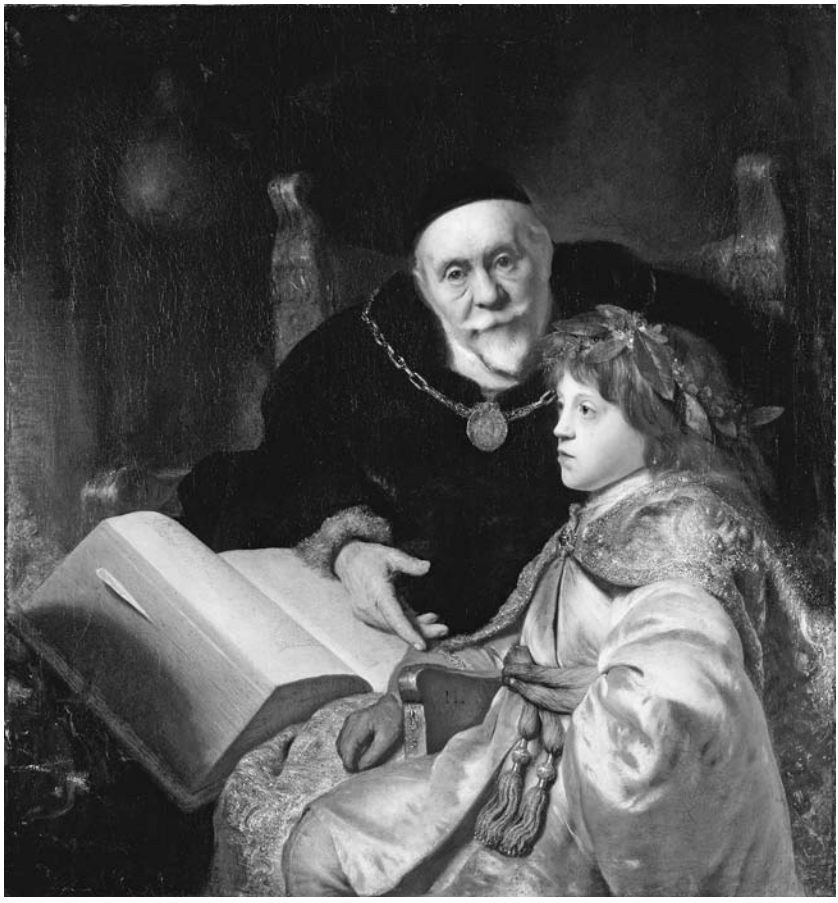

Fig. 15. *Prince Charles Louis of the Palatinate with his Tutor Wolrad von Plessen in Historical Dress* by Jan Lieven. Leiden, 1631. Courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles

situations because the States General subsidized a significant amount for Frederick and Elizabeth's court in exile.[106] For example, on Frederick and Elizabeth's arrival at the city of Utrecht with their retinue of 85 people and 135 horses, they wined and dined, but did not pay for it,

[106] Mout, "Der Winterkonig im Exil," 261; for the tensions between material culture and Calvinism in Holland see Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Vintage, 1997).

Fig. 16. *Prince Rupert of the Palatinate and his Tutor in Historical Dress* by Gerrit Dou. Leiden, c. 1631. Courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles

which angered the city, and the States General had to eat the bill to satisfy the city.[107]

The States General housed Frederick and Elizabeth in the home of the exiled son-in-law of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, Cornelis van der Mijle, by renting a couple of rooms which they decorated in regal fashion to show that the United Provinces still recognized Frederick V's Bohemian claim.[108] This could not hide the fact, however, that Frederick was in reality a dependent of the bourgeois-dominated States General. Frederick's opponents mercilessly exploited the discrepancy between Frederick's regal pretensions and his status as a dependent. For example, an illustrated broadsheet emphasized this dependency status by depicting Frederick as a villein digging ditches, chopping wood, and selling cheese for his Dutch bourgeois overlords:

> Ever since I lost the Bohemian crown,
> I have been the States' villein.
> They furnish me provisions,
> Otherwise I should be forced to go a-begging.
> For the states I patiently do the work
> Which a villein owes.[109]

In demeaning fashion for an aristocrat, he was depicted as failing from one trade to another, since his education did not prepare him for this 'lower' bourgeois social status, a status which in turn he likewise lost: "In sum, I am a day-laborer, because I have not learned a trade."[110]

Frederick and Elizabeth attempted to live an extravagant princely lifestyle, footed by the States General, so that they could promote their regal pretensions. However, this did not set well with the bourgeois-oriented States General. For example, there was a financial falling-out between Frederick and Elizabeth and the States General when Frederick and Elizabeth wanted to take a pleasure cruise to Amsterdam. The admiralty of Amsterdam was supposed to supply the ships, and the States General promised to pay for the meals along the way for 223 people. However, the States General refused to pay for any

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[107] Mout, "Der Winterkonig im Exil," 261.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Anon., *Deß Pfaltzgraf Scharwerch bey den Staden Da er gefressn den Osterfladen. Und jetzt durch seinen newen Orden/ der Staden Underthan ist worden.* (n.p., 1620), in *Caricatures of the 'Winter King' of Bohemia*, ed. and trans. A. Beller, [plate xv] 44–45.

[110] Ibid.

more expenses for the trip and told Maurice, the Prince of Orange, that they did not have money for this kind of royal entertainment. In the end, the city of Amsterdam had to pay for the rest of the costs, including a major theatrical production for the occasion. The years 1623–24 marked the nadir for the relationship between Frederick and the States General: Frederick received no more money for his military operations, and Frederick's court consumed all the money given to him with his and Elizabeth's numerous hunting excursions and parties.[111] Indeed, even in exile, hunting continued to be Frederick and Elizabeth's favorite form of recreation.[112] This passion is also evidenced in a letter written by Frederick in 1625 to Count Heinrich Mathias von Thurn, the author of the apology defending the Bohemian revolt. He managed to flee into Transylvania after the White Mountain debacle and carry on the fight against the Habsburgs. Although the progress of the war was discussed in the letter, Frederick included a description of the differences in hunting rabbits in Holland versus the Palatinate.[113] Finally, Frederick and Elizabeth's court banquets frequently lasted late into the night and even into the early hours of the morning.[114]

In the early 1620s, Frederick had disputes with his landlord, Mijle, about the high price of the rent and Frederick's desire to use the anteroom. Mijle offered to rent it to him, but the States General was not excited about paying for more living expenses. It was not until Frederick had to point out to its members that he was still a king and his wife was a daughter of a king that they finally consented.[115] This episode demonstrated that Frederick and Elizabeth did have some leverage in the disputes, thanks both to their ancestry and Frederick's close kinship with the Stadholder, Maurice of Orange-Nassau. Indeed, it was the Prince of Orange who pressured the States General into accepting Frederick's court-in-exile with a living stipend. Not only did Prince Maurice sympathize with Frederick's cause, he also benefited from these ties by increasing the prestige of the House of Orange.[116]

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[111] Mout, "Der Winterkonig im Exil," 263–265.

[112] Keblusek, 55–56.

[113] Friedrich V to Heinrich Mathias von Thurn (The Hague, 5 January, 1625), in *Correspondenz des Pfalzgrafen Friedrich V. und seiner Gemahlin Elisabeth mit Heinrich Mathias von Thurn*, ed. Joseph Fiedler (Vienna: Gerold, 1864), 381–382.

[114] Keblusek, 55–56.

[115] Mout, "Der Winterkonig im Exil," 265.

[116] Jonathon Israel, "The United Provinces of the Netherlands. The Courts of the House of Orange c. 1580–1795," in *The Princely Courts of Europe*, ed. J. Adamson

The Orange court was an anomaly because it was a court within a republic.[117] Thus, because of European mistrust of republics, the States General benefited from the ceremonial court of the House of Orange when engaged in international affairs.[118] Frederick and Elizabeth's presence at The Hague increased this international presence. For example, foreign ambassadors visited Frederick and Elizabeth as part of their ceremonious arrival at The Hague.[119] In fact, the *Hofmeister* for the States General rented furniture to Frederick and Elizabeth that had been taken from the supplies they kept for diplomatic purposes.[120] When both James I and the Stadholder Maurice died in 1625, Frederick played a ceremonial role in the election of Maurice's brother Frederik Hendrik as Stadholder and in Charles I's succession as the new King of England. In both cases, he was essentially a messenger for exchanges of condolences and well-wishes between England and the States General.[121] Likewise, Frederick was present at the opening of Maurice's testament and inherited from him an eighth share in the West India Company.[122] However, compared with the loss of the Palatinate and Bohemia, an eighth share in the West India Company probably had about the same soothing affect as Aloe Vera on a third-degree burn. The contrast between Frederick's positions in this latter passive function compared to his status as Elector before White Mountain was painfully apparent: before White Mountain, Frederick and company visited the Orange court as symbols of Protestant leadership on an international scale as part of their celebrated wedding activities of 1613.[123]

121; Horst Lademacher, "Die Statthalter und ihr Amt. Zu den Wechselfällen einer politisch-militärischen Funktion," in *Dynastie in der Republik: das Haus Oranien-Nassau als Vermittler niederländischer Kultur in deutschen Territorien im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. id. (Munich: Hirmer, 1999), 55.

[117] Israel, "The Courts of the House of Orange c. 1580–1795," 121.

[118] Ibid., 122; Schilling, "The Orange Court. The Configuration of the Court in an Old European Republic," 442, 450.

[119] Keblusek, 50.

[120] Groenveld, 172.

[121] Mout, "Der Winterkonig im Exil," 266.

[122] Ibid., 266–267.

[123] Marika Keblusek, "Extremes of Cost and Riches: The Entry of Frederick, Elector Palatine, and Princess Elizabeth in the Dutch Republic (1613)," in *Living in Posterity: Essays in Honour of Bart Westerweel* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2004), eds. J.F. van Dijkhuizen et al., 163–169; Mark Brayshaw, "The Choreography of Journeys of Magnificence: Arranging the Post-Nuptial Progress of Frederick, the Elector Palatine, and Princess Elizabeth of England from London to Heidelberg in 1613," *Journal of*

Following the debacle at White Mountain, Frederick shared another important bond with Maurice of Orange-Nassau besides kinship: both the Orange court and the Wittelsbach court-in-exile at The Hague were led by Calvinists whose dynastic legitimacy was questioned by many. Indeed, Maurice did not gain the mechanics of power over the States General until 1618. This was not long before Maurice encouraged Frederick V to take the Bohemian crown, with promises of military and financial support, since Maurice's own court was a critical center for anti-Habsburg politics. Another salient similarity between the two courts in terms of dynastic legitimization can be seen in their attempts to have their sons recognized by their respective Estates as hereditary rulers. As mentioned earlier, Frederick's attempt to do this with the Bohemian Estates led to a considerable amount of alienation. For the Orange court of Maurice's brother and successor, Frederik Hendrik, success was visually demonstrated in having the States of Holland recognize his son as heir in the painting, "Allegory of the Transfer of the Survivance to Prince Willem" (c. 1641) by Theodoor van Thulden. Likewise, it was probably not coincidence that it was during the vacancy of the Stadholder office (1650–1672) that the States General required the now widowed Elizabeth to give an account of her finances.[124]

The ambience of the Orange and Wittelsbach courts in The Hague also strikingly demonstrated how Calvinism and dynastic court culture did not always mesh for either of these two houses. No doubt Frederick and Elizabeth would have been quite at ease in The Hague simply because of linguistic competency in the language of the court, French. Likewise, in contrast to expected court behavior in Prague, Frederick's and Elizabeth's daily demeanor resonated with that of the Orange court. It was actually far more 'bohemian' than Prague. Indeed, as Jonathon Israel notes, the court atmosphere at The Hague would be better described as more "Cavalier than Calvinist."[125] Although officially Calvinist, the court was far bawdier than austere, and sexual exploits or insinuations were often conversational material for the courtiers. An example of this was in 1626 when Frederik Hendrik gave Frederick and Elizabeth the gift of a collection of 102 paintings by Adriaen van

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Early Modern History 12 (2008): 387–389; Israel, "The Courts of the House of Orange c. 1580–1795," 133.

[124] "The Courts of the House of Orange c. 1580–1795," 122–131.

[125] Ibid., 125–126, quote on p. 125.

de Venne (1589–1662) that contained numerous sexual innuendos.[126] Elizabeth shared an interest in Rubens' art with Wolfgang Wilhelm and Maximilian, but it appears that Elizabeth had little enthusiasm for religious art. For example, the English ambassador at The Hague, Sir Dudley Carleton, gave her Rubens' "Abraham and Hagar" for her 23rd birthday, but she clearly favored Ruben's "Venus and Adonis," a painting which she had hung over her fireplace. Indeed, it seems that when Abraham Scultetus left Frederick's service to devote himself to the Calvinist court at Brandenburg, his stringent Calvinist influence over Frederick and his family left with him. For example, after Frederick's death, Frederick Wilhelm, the future "Great Elector" of Brandenburg-Prussia, was repelled by the obscenity of Frederik Hendriks' court at The Hague while spending the winter of 1637–8 there.[127]

Elizabeth in particular had an important impact on the development of court culture at The Hague. Since she had royal blood, Elizabeth held the highest status of any female at The Hague. Thus, at court ceremonies there, Elizabeth was the first to be given tribute. Frederick and Elizabeth also took their places among the lords and ladies at ring-tilting and tournaments. For instance, on June 25, 1624, there was a ring-tilting contest at the English ambassadors' residence on the Voorhout with three teams dressed in the costumes of Turks, Amazons, and Roman knights. Likewise, in March 1624 Prince Maurice had another ring-tilt for the occasion of the marriage between Johan van Brederode and Louise Christine van Solms, where there was a great competition among courtiers for the rings of Elizabeth and her daughter. The wedding contained so much feasting and games that the locals were amazed.[128] Indeed, before Elizabeth and Frederick came, The Hague had been a rather quiet and quaint little village nestled between the Orange court and the coast of the North Sea.[129]

Just as Frederick and Elizabeth managed to upset the more conservative inhabitants in Prague, they also angered the locals as well as the clergy, who shared a similar Calvinist perspective on proper behavior and attire. Despite their flamboyant lifestyle at court, they did attend church regularly at The Hague. Their church attendance included visits to the English church, the Walloon church, and the

[126] Ibid., 122–131, 125–126.
[127] Hoogsteder, 129, 199–200.
[128] Keblusek, 50–52.
[129] Groenveld, 171.

Evangelical Reformed convent near their home.[130] Their presence could lead to interesting contrasts. For example, in 1623 the English pastor, John Wing, preached a sermon at The Hague in which he compared Elizabeth and Frederick's trials with those of Moses and King David, and placed great hope in their posterity:

> The Great God of Heaven and earth blesse, with the richest abundance & combination of his rarest, and best blessings…all your hopefull plants, & princely posterity, that your Crowne may yet flourish, your enemyes may ever perish, and you all, may be made mirrours of Majesty, and Royalty, to all generations.[131]

However, during the same year, Elizabeth became furious during a local worship service when the pastor publicly upbraided her for sponsoring a dance, and indirectly accused her of afflicting the "common man" in Holland with floods and misery that reflected a divine punishment for her "sin."[132]

Elizabeth inherited from her mother a passion for court masques, and winters at The Hague were warmed up with the production of plays and ballets.[133] One of the most popular themes for improvised theatrical productions at their court was "The Journey to Heidelberg" where they would imagine how they would return.[134] Also, on January 11, 1624, Frederik Hendrik sponsored a ballet for Elizabeth, with the text written by Constantijn Huygens, which contained numerous allusions to Bohemian affairs. Elizabeth and Frederick often offered ballets and parties at their Wassenaer court that included banquets.[135] However, the court preachers at The Hague did not approve of the masques and parties. In 1639, the Dutch church consistory rebuked Elizabeth's court chaplain, Samson Johnson, for the immodest attire of Elizabeth. He only retorted that Elizabeth was capable of deciding for herself what attire she cared to wear.[136] Finally, in 1655 Elizabeth noted

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[130] Ibid., 175.

[131] John Wing, *The Saints Advantage or the welfare of the Faithful, in the worst times* (Flishing, 1623), 2. Rare book. Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com [accessed March 1, 2007].

[132] Ibid., 175–176.

[133] Michael B. Young, "Queen Anna Bites Back: Protest, Effeminancy and Manliness at the Jacobean Court," in *Gender, Power and Privilege in Early Modern Europe*, eds. J. Munns and P. Richards, 118; Keblesuk, 55.

[134] Groenveld, 176.

[135] Keblusek, 55.

[136] Oman, 332.

that a French preacher had condemned the performance of a masque by equating it with the sins of Sodom and Gomorrah, a comparison which only caused an outburst of laughter in the church.[137]

Many of the locals at The Hague, however, sympathized with the Dutch consistory when it came to disapproving of the extravagant demeanor of Frederick and Elizabeth. Indeed, they expressed their anger in a similar manner as the death threat Frederick had earlier received in Bohemia. For example, in January of 1635, the *Binnenhof* was set ablaze near the court chapel. Only a week after, there was another fire near the *Rekenkamer* (chamber of accounts) of Holland. Three days later, locals were incensed that Frederick and Elizabeth's sons, Karl Ludwig and Ruprecht, wrote and performed in a play titled "The Pleasures of Human Life" for a party put on by Frederik Hendrik. For many inhabitants, it seemed incredibly insensitive to put on a play such as that when the actual plight of many of the inhabitants in the Palatinate was so desperate. They felt that this sort of pride would only bring more woes, and it apparently did, since on that same day news came that critical areas of the Palatinate had been laid low.[138]

Karl Ludwig's and Ruprecht's participation in the arts also reflected the tensions between the humanist elements of their education at court and those of their rigorous religious and military education, meant to prepare them for their roles as defenders of the Calvinist faith. Despite Frederick's later military experience in cooperation with his host, by 1628 Sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador at The Hague, commented that the lack of martial success by Frederick contributed to the couples' loss of prestige at The Hague. Although Carleton initiated interesting outings for Frederick and Elizabeth, like the time they went to see a beached whale, these excursions could never compensate for victory in the field. Even the value of pompous display began to diminish for them as tensions arose between Elizabeth and her former court lady, Amalia van Solms. The latter became the first lady at the court after she married Frederik Hendrik in 1625. It was particular painful for Elizabeth because the absence of military success by Frederick meant that in terms of cultural capital, she and Frederick's status did not offer as secure a marriage path for Orange dynastic considerations

[137] Keblusek, 55.
[138] Ibid., 55–56.

as it had before White Mountain.[139] That Frederick was aware of this and deeply appreciative of Frederik Hendrik's military support is evident in a letter from Frederick to Frederik Hendrik written a year before Frederick's death. In it, Frederick expressed his hope that God would "bless" Frederik Hendrik for his efforts.[140]

After Frederick died in 1632, Elizabeth felt keenly the sense of helplessness engendered by their dependent status. She became bound and determined to make sure that their sons received a solid military education so that they could regain at least their Palatine inheritance. A classic statement of her skepticism over her father's diplomatic efforts to regain the Palatinate was evident in a letter she wrote to William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury, not long after the Peace of Prague (1635):

> I confess, as a woman and a Christian, I should rather desire it [the restitution] by peace, but I have lived so long amongst soldiers and wars, as it makes one to me as easy as the other and as familiar, especially when I remember never to have read in the chronicles of my ancestors, that any king of England got any good by treaties, but most commonly lost by them, and on the contrary, by wars made always good peaces.[141]

In another letter to Archbishop Laud two years later, she stated, almost in the same breath, her appreciation for the books Laud had given her and her determination to send her third son, Maurice, into the military service of the Prince of Orange so that he could "learne that profession which I beleeve he must live by."[142] About two weeks later, she wrote to Laud that it would be more useful for her son Ruprecht to leave the service of her brother's court in England in order to accompany the Prince of Orange into battle:

> I think that he will spend this summer better in an army than idle in England, for though it be a great honour and happiness to him to wait upon his uncle, yet, his youth considered, he will be better employed to see the wars.[143]

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[139] Ibid., 49–50.

[140] Frederick V to Frederik Hendrik (De Pleinfeldt, 1631 June), in *Archives ou Correspondance Inédite de la Maison D'Orange-Nassau*, ed. G. van Prinsterer, vol. 4, 34.

[141] Elizabeth Stuart to Archbishop Laud (1636 June 1), in *The Letters of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia*, ed. L.M. Baker, 94.

[142] Elizabeth Stuart to Archbishop Laud (The Hague, 1637 May 29), in *The Letters of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia*, ed. L.M. Baker, 95.

[143] Elizabeth Stuart to Archbishop Laud (1637 June 10), in *The Letters of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia*, ed. L.M. Baker, 96.

Elizabeth's belief that more concentration on martial rather than diplomatic training along humanist lines was more practical for her sons echoes the reason why late medieval princes were slow to accept humanist educational values in such literature as *The Book of the Courtier* by Castiglione.[144] She certainly did not trust Maximilian of Bavaria and even referred to him as the "oulde divell."[145] Also, she cogently recognized the power of the dynastic bonds developed between the Bavarian Wittelsbachs and the Austrian Habsburgs through intermarriage.[146] Likewise, she clearly believed in the Elizabethan conception of Protestant chivalry as espoused by Sidney and her brother Henry Stuart, and its transference onto her husband. Indeed, in this respect she was much more like her mother than her father. Her mother, Anne, had been far more influential in convincing Henry Stuart that he was born to be a conqueror, rather than a scholar like his father wished.[147] Besides the fact that James did not support political rebellion, this different outlook towards the value of martial versus diplomatic victory, and confessional rather than ecumenical perspectives, reveals why the Prince of Orange and not James offered asylum to Elizabeth and Frederick after White Mountain. Not only was Prince Maurice closely related to Frederick, but Maurice considered the fates of Bohemia and the Dutch tied together and supported Frederick's election as king of Bohemia at the beginning.[148] Furthermore, the military reforms of the Orange dynasty benefited from humanist interest in classical antiquity, and thus represented another aspect of Renaissance political values that understood the need of a strong army in shaping successful diplomacy.[149]

Frederick and Elizabeth reaped a mixed harvest with these various educational endeavors. Several of Frederick and Elizabeth's sons did

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[144] F. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher*, xix–xx; for the checkered reception of Castigilione in general, see Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: the Euoropean Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

[145] Elizabeth Stuart to Sir Thomas Rowe (The Hague, 1639 May 27), in *The Letters of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia*, ed. L.M. Baker, 129.

[146] Elizabeth Stuart to Sir Thomas Rowe (1639 November 8), in *The Letters of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia*, ed. L.M. Baker, 143.

[147] Young, 120.

[148] Polišensky, *Tragic Triangle,* 103.

[149] Wolfgang Reinhard, "Humanismus und Militarismus: Antike-Rezeption und Kriegshandwerk in der oranischen Heeresreform," in *Krieg und Frieden im Horizont des Renaissancehumanismus*, ed. Franz Josef Worstbrock (Weinheim: VCH, 1986), 185–204.

become renowned for their military exploits in the service of their Stuart and Orange relatives. Ruprecht, dubbed the "Cavalier," became the Duke of Cumberland, the Lord High Admiral of the Stuart navy, a founding member of the Royal Society, and the first director of the Hudson Bay Company; however, neither he nor his brothers were ever able to fulfill their mother's wish to militarily make good on their father's claims to the Palatinate and Bohemia.[150] Frederick and Elizabeth's daughters were never expected to militarily defend their dynasty and faith, but they were still expected to perpetuate their dynastic inheritance as wives of faith and influence. Here too the results were mixed. For example, their daughter Louise-Hollandine became an excellent painter after studying art under the famous Hague court painter, Gerard van Hanthorst.[151] However, in 1657 she shocked her mother when she fled from the palace at night in order to meet with her brother Eduard in the Paris of Louis XIV in order to convert to Catholicism. Later, she even became the Abbess of Maubuisson in France.[152]

The princess Elisabeth earned the sobriquets "The Greek" and "Signora Antica" because of her intellectual endeavors in astronomy, mathematics, philosophy, and theology that later led to a close correspondence with René Descartes. Indeed, she became an important patroness for Descartes.[153] The dynamics of social and gender relations made it a relationship in which Descartes addressed her as a courtier, and she responded in the manner of a pupil.[154] In 1643, Descartes dedicated his *Principles of Philosophy* to Elisabeth. He also published his *Passions of the Soul* for Elisabeth in 1645–46, a treatise that reflected themes from their own discourse.[155] Ironically, Descartes himself may

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[150] For the career of Ruprecht, see Robert Rebitsch, *Rupert von der Pfalz (1619–1682). Ein deutscher Fürstensohn im Dienst der Stuarts* (Innsbruck: Bozen, 2005); Hugh Trevor-Roper, "Ruprecht der 'Cavalier,'" *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landes-geschichte* 44 (1981): 241–256.

[151] Groenveld, 177; Christopher A. Kerstjens, "A Princely Painter: Princess Louise Hollandine of the Palatinate, Abbess of Maubuisson," *The Court Historian* 4 (1999): 161–166.

[152] René Pillorget, "Die Kinder Friedrichs V. v.d. Pfalz in Frankreich: Philipp, Eduard und Luise-Hollandine," *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 44 (1981): 264–265.

[153] Alheidis von Rohr, 213.

[154] Londa Schiebinger, *The Mind has no Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 46–47.

[155] Dirk Van der Cruysse, "La boulimie épistolaire des descendants du Winterkönig: un réseau international," *XVII^e Siècle* 45 (1993): 12–13; see published correspondence

have been present at White Mountain, but fighting for the Catholic League. His experiences in the Thirty Years' War and visits to the Palatine court-in-exile at The Hague influenced his important treatise *Discourse on Method*.[156] Elisabeth also corresponded with the Quaker William Penn, a relationship that helped religious refugees inaugurate the Palatine migration to America.[157] However, her mother was not able to arrange a good marriage for her primarily because of the males' unsuccessful military attempts to regain the family lands, and thus status. Indeed, she ended up becoming the head abbess at the Protestant abbey in Herford in 1667.[158]

Another daughter, Sophie, however, did manage to marry well by becoming the Electress of Brandenburg. She became an important patroness of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz as well as one of the primary founders of the Berlin Academy of Science in 1700.[159] She also become the dynastic link which brought the Hanoverian dynasty to the English throne, an event which helped Hanover and England, but not Frederick's former claims on all of the Palatinate and Bohemia.

Their eldest son, Frederick Henry, the expected heir to the Bohemian throne, drowned in a tragic boating accident in Amsterdam in 1629 when he accompanied his father to see the Spanish silver treasure captured by Piet Hein. A Czech humanist exile living in London, Jan Sictor Rokycanský, published a funeral lamentation for Frederick Henry that reflected the sorrows of those Czechs who did continue to support the 'Palatine Myth' without its Rosicrucian overtones:

> The king elect of Bohemia was seven years old when his father bore the sacred scepter; he was not completely established in the land of his election… The only lasting kingdom is in the heaven of Christ….[160]

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between Elisabeth and Descartes in *The Correspondence between Princess Elisabeth of Bohemia and René Descartes*, ed. and transl. Lisa Shapiro (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

[156] Timothy Reiss, "Descartes, the Palatinate, and the Thirty Years' War: Political Theory and Political Practice," *Yale French Studies* 80 (1991): 108–145.

[157] The correspondence betweeen Elisabeth and Penn are also appended to *The Correspondence between Princess Elisabeth of Bohemia and René Descartes*, ed. and transl. Lisa Shapiro.

[158] Alheidis von Rohr, 213–214; for Protestant abbeys see Bridget Hill, "A Refuge from Men: The Idea of a Protestant Nunnery," *Past and Present* 101 (1987): 107–130.

[159] Schiebinger, 98.

[160] Jan Sictor Rokycanský, *Carmina Lugubria de infelici casu et praematuro obitu, ex naufragio… illustrissimi ac optimae indolis, maximaeque Spei Principis FRIDERICI HENRICI…* (London, 1629), 8. Rare book. Early English Books Online, http://eebo

Frederick Henry's death left Karl Ludwig as the eldest surviving son of Frederick and Elizabeth. Karl Ludwig did eventually obtain an eighth electorate as well as the return of at least the Lower Palatinate, but this was primarily thanks to the efforts of others at the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Unlike his brothers Ruprecht and Maurice, who supported their uncle Charles I during the English Civil War, Karl Ludwig actually supported Parliament and Oliver Cromwell in his attempt to regain the Palatinate.[161] Indeed, he had a rather rocky relationship with his mother, whose exile court at The Hague became a royalist asylum during the English Civil War.[162] For example, in 1641, Elizabeth had a proclamation printed that forbade any Parliamentarian sympathizers in England to come within ten miles of her court at The Hague.[163] Elizabeth was also outraged when Karl Ludwig publically left his first wife, Charlotte, and entered into a morganatic relationship with his wife's lady-in-waiting, Maria Susanna Loysa von Degenfeld.[164] Karl Ludwig's relationship with his mother continued to deteriorate as Elizabeth depended on him for income, and her right to return to Frankenthal conflicted with Karl Ludwig's limited funds, his efforts to rebuild the Palatinate, and his belief that his mother was a spendthrift. In the end, Elizabeth's expectations were never met, and she did not return to the Palatinate. However, she did have a fine funeral in England and was buried at Westminster Abbey in 1662 near her brother Prince Henry, whose death had been the catalyst for transferring English Protestant hopes onto Frederick in the first place.[165]

Karl Ludwig had been one of the leading cultural lights at Frederik Hendriks' court who, like his sister Elisabeth, was interested in Cartesian philosophy and religious toleration.[166] Under Karl Ludwig's

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.chadwyck.com [accessed March 1, 2007]; for an account of Rokycanský's sojourn in London see Robert Fitzgibbon Young, *A Czech Humanist in London in the 17th Century: Jan Sictor Rokycanský (1593–1652)* (London: School of Slavonic Studies in the University of London, King's College, 1925).

[161] Alheidis von Rohr, 209.

[162] Groenveld, 176; Oman, 374.

[163] Elizabeth Stuart, *An Ordinance or Proclamation by the Prince of Orange and States of Holland, in her Majesties behalf, and at her request* (London, 1641). Rare book. Early English Books Online, http: eebo.chadwyck.com [accessed March 1, 2007].

[164] Michael Metzger, "Of Princes and Poets: Lohenstein's Verse Epistles on the Divorce of the Elector Palatine Carl Ludwig," in *Literary Culture in the Holy Roman Empire, 1555–1720*, ed. Parente, et al., 159–176.

[165] Oman, 409, 456.

[166] Israel, "The Courts of the House of Orange c. 1580–1795," 129; Albrecht Ernst, *Die Reformierte Kirche der Kurpfalz nach dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg (1649–1685)* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1996), 27.

direction, and influenced by his own experience at the University of Leiden, the University of Heidelberg became more confessionally open than it had been before. This was evident in his active recruiting of both the natural law philosopher Samuel Pufendorf and the even more controversial philosopher Baruch Spinoza.[167] Indeed, confessional tolerance was also an important means to attract settlers to his depleted Palatine lands.[168] The effects of the Thirty Years' War caused him to reject most of the 'Palatine Myth,' and he became the first for both branches of the Wittelsbachs to write an educational instruction ordering his children's tutor to teach them that it was possible to fear God while simultaneously respecting those of other religions:

> He [the tutor] should take care that our declared electoral heir be brought to the fear of God in the true Christian religion customary to the electoral Palatinate by diligently establishing his daily morning and evening prayers and his attendance at sermons; however, in a manner without hate or ill will against any other persons that do not belong to his religion.[169]

After the death of Karl Ludwig's heir, Karl II, the Lower Palatinate passed to the Catholic Neuburg branch of the family in 1685, an event which meant that all of the Palatine lands were brought into the Bavarian orbit. However, the Lower Palatinate remained a multiconfessional province.[170] This was visually manifest from 1705 to 1936 in the court chapel, the Holy Ghost Church, which during this time had a wall dividing the church so that the Protestants could perform liturgical services in the nave and the Catholics in the chancel.

The Thirty Years' War deepened Maximilian's belief in the *pietas bavarica* since it brought him the cherished electoral title and the permanent annexation of the Upper Palatinate. Even when the Swedes,

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[167] Heinz Schneppen, *Nederländische Universitäten und deutsches Geistesleben von der Universität Leiden bis ins späte 18. Jahrhundert* (Münster: Aschendorffesche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1960), 53; Detlif Döring, "Samuel Pufendorf und die Heidelberger Universität in der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Späthumanismus und reformierte Konfession*, eds. C. Strohm, et al., 293–324.

[168] Sellin, 113; Dominique Guillemont-Ehrmantraut, "L'immigration des Huguenots dans le Palatinat entre 1649 et 1685," in *Huguenotten und deutsche Territorialstaaten: Immigrationspolitik und Integrationsprozesse (Les Etats allemands et les huguenots: politique d'immigration et processus d'integration)*, eds. Guido Braun and Susanne Lachenicht (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2007), 17–34.

[169] Karl Ludwig to David von Waffweyler (Heidelberg, 1663 February 22), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher: Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 79.

[170] Meinrad Schaab, "Die Wiederherstellung des Katholizismus in der Kurpfalz im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 114 (1966): 151.

with Frederick's support, plundered Albrecht V's art treasury in Munich and made Bavaria bleed,[171] Maximilian continued to trust in the protection of the Virgin Mary. For example, in 1638 he had the Marian pillar placed in the center of Munich as a fulfillment of a vow made in 1631/2. At that time the Swedes were on the march to Munich, and he promised to give Mary an offering if she prevented Munich from being destroyed by the Swedes and the plague.[172] The bronze Marian sculpture atop the pillar represents Mary as the "Lady of the Apocalypse." It became the model for the later Marian pillars in Prague, Vienna, and Innsbruck that reflected the Baroque synthesis of classical and religious motifs which aimed to increase religious devotion.[173] In this case, the pillars of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius in Rome served as the classical models.[174] Indeed, Jacob Balde wrote a dedicatory ode for the monument in Horatian style to commemorate the Virgin Mary's protection of Munich against both Frederick V and Gustavus Adolphus.[175] This Christian-classical synthesis is also visible in the Neostoic Latin epigraphs still flanking the walls of the Antiquarium in Munich such as: *patientia victrix rerum adversum* ("patience is the conqueror of difficult affairs").

The bonds between the *pietas bavarica* and the *pietas austriaca* were further strengthened at the time of the Peace of Prague (1635) by the marriage between Maximilian and his second wife, Maria Anna, Maximilian's own niece and daughter of Ferdinand II. Although Maximilian's opponents criticized the close sanguinity between Maximilian and Maria Anna, Ferdinand II realized the importance of keeping Bavaria away from French influence at the time. Likewise, Maximilian's first marriage had remained childless, so he was hoping that God would fulfill 'prophecies' stirring in Munich at the time that he could still have an heir despite his old age.[176] Two Jesuits from the Jesuit College in Munich, Christoph Ott and Adam Schirmbeck, cel-

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[171] Göran Rystad, "Die Schweden in Bayern während des Dreißigjährigen Krieges," in *Um Glauben und Reich*, ed. H. Glaser, 424–435.

[172] Glaser and Werner, 146–147.

[173] Susan Tipton, "'Super aspidem et basilicum ambulabis…'. Zur Entstehung der Mariensäulen im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Religion und Religiosität im Zeitalter des Barock*, eds. D. Breuer, et al., vol. 1, 376–381.

[174] Glaser and Werner, 149.

[175] Wilfried Stroh, "'An Senat und Volk von München:' Die Münchener Mariensäule und ihr Dichter Balde." *Literatur in Bayern* 11 (March 1988): 2–12.

[176] Albrecht, *Maximilian I. von Bayern*, 934–936.

ebrated the event with a production of a play, *Nabuchodonosor*. The play itself represented the Baroque Christian-classical synthesis through a classical vehicle, drama, which combined satyrs with biblical themes to underscore the Wittelsbach-Habsburg Catholic heritage and destiny. As part of the conclusion of the play, a flock of satyrs sang the following lines: "The hope of a Golden Age of all kinds is in the prince."[177]

Despite this hope for progeny, it was a testimony to the influence of the consort that in the funeral literature for his first wife, Elisabeth Renata of Lorraine, her piety was presented as a means of perpetuating the *pietas bavarica* even though she died childless.[178] Indeed, Elisabeth Renata had even been subject to an exorcism because it was commonly believed that the devil was responsible for infertility.[179] The author of the *Tugendspiegel* (Mirror of Virtue) commemorating the life of Elisabeth Renata was the Jesuit Jeremias Drexel, who used Neostoic references of virtue taken from Seneca, Tacitus, and their more contemporary representative, Justus Lipsius, throughout the work in order to present Elisabeth Renata within the Christian-classical synthesis of the Baroque:

> Piety is described by the scholars as *Recta, in moribus & omnia actione, vita ex honefti norma* [Lipsius 1.i. Politic.6,6 initio]: A right and orderly life in the manner of respectability in customs and all deeds. Such a life and piety is that of the deceased electress in Bavaria, Elisabeth…[180]

Indeed, this synthesis was one shared by both Catholics and Protestants in this era. Just a decade after the death of Elisabeth Renata, Frederick V's mother, Louise-Juliana of Orange, also died; and the Calvinist professor of theology, Friedrich Spanheim the Elder, wrote a historical account of her life that likewise resounded with this Christian-classical fugue:

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[177] Christoph Ott and Adam Schirmbeck, *Nabuchodonosor: serenissimorum principum Maximiliani Boiariae Ducis… et Mariae Annae Austriacae sacratissimi et augustissimi Imp. Ferdinandi II.f. auspicatissimo coniugio condecorando* (Munich, 1635), 77. Rare book. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

[178] Jeremias Drexel, *Tugendspiegel… der durchl. Kurfürstin Elisabeth…* (Munich 1636), esp. 133. Rare book. German Baroque Literature: Harold Jantz Collection, no. 965. New Haven: Research Publications, 1973–1974. Text-film.

[179] H.C. Erik Midelfort, *Mad Princes of Renaissance Germany* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994), 148–149.

[180] Drexel, *Tugendspiegel*, 18.

> If eulogies are given to illustrious women just as much as to men, then it is an injustice to bury their virtue by negligence or to suffocate their glory by malice…biblical history itself, which is the proper judge of the value of things, is not the gallows when it comes to honors for their sex. The angels had wanted to be the spokespersons for their praises. The pagans did no less on this point….[181]

Maximilian's second marriage, with Maria Anna of Habsburg, did bear fruit with the birth of their son and heir. Maximilian's Marian devotion and belief in the *pietas bavarica* was also evident when he began a popular precedent in Bavaria by giving his male heir, Ferdinand Maria, the second name of Maria. However, the Upper Palatinate remained the only region in Bavaria where it did not become common practice in the Baroque era. Perhaps this reflected lingering resentment in the Upper Palatinate caused by the lost privileges of the landed estates that predated the Protestant Reformation.[182] In a famous mirror of prince that Maximilian first wrote to his son in 1639, Maximilian revealed his great hope that Ferdinand Maria would continue the *pietas bavarica*:

> …before all other saints of God, thou shallt love and honor the queen of all the saints, the Virgin Mother of God, as the eternal patron of our electoral house and do so no less than a devoted and submissive son should do. In this way thou willt be sure that she will love thee as a caring mother and with the Almighty God protect thee in times of fortune and misfortune as much as possible.[183]

However, despite Maximilian's expectation, the *pietas bavarica* actually peaked with Maximilian, just as the 'Palatine Myth' did with Frederick and Elizabeth.[184]

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[181] Friedrich Spanheim the Elder, *Memoires sur la vie & la mort de la Serenissime Princesse, Loyse Iuliane Electrice Palatine, née Princesse d'Orange, contenans un Abbrege de quelques evenemens notables de nos temps & de divers Mysteres qui s' y sontpassez* (Leiden, 1645), 1–2. Rare book. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

[182] Rudolf Kleinöder, *Konfessionelle Namengebung in der Oberpfalz von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (Frankfurt: P. Lang, 1996), 469; Josef Hanauer, *Die bayerischen Kurfürsten Maximilian I. und Ferdinand Maria und die Katholische Restauration in der Oberpfalz* (Regensburg: Verlag des Vereins für Regensburger Bistumsgeschichte, 1993); Karl-Ludwig Ay, *Land und Fürst im alten Bayern, 16.–18. Jahrhundert* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1988), 92, 102.

[183] Maximilian to Ferdinand Maria, *Monita paterna* or *Väterliche Ermahnung* (1639), in *Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750. Urkunden*, ed. F. Schmidt, 104–105.

[184] Hubensteiner, *Geist des Barock*, 122; see also Annelie Hopfenmüller, *Der Geistliche Rat unter den Kurfürsten Ferdinand Maria und Max Emanuel von Bayern (1651–1726)* (Munich: Kommissionsverlag UNI-Druck, 1985).

In Frederick and Elizabeth's court-in-exile at The Hague was a portrait gallery of ancestors. The portraits were most likely retrieved from Heidelberg before it fell to Maximilian's Catholic League. Among the portraits of Palatine ancestors was one of Kunigunde of Austria, Archduchess of Bavaria (d. 1520) and the daughter of Emperor Frederick III, who married the Bavarian Duke Albrecht IV "The Wise" (d. 1508) in Innsbruck.[185] Albrecht IV was also the victor of the Bavarian War of Succession, which culminated in his ability to acquire Landshut from his Palatine rival and implement the policy of primogeniture, which kept the Bavarian dukedom from splintering into different branches as continued to happen with the Palatine Wittelsbachs.[186] Besides this rather ominous reminder of the Palatine past, there was also a portrait of an unknown woman holding a rosary, as well as a painting of a lady holding the Oldenburger *Wunderhorn* (magic horn).[187] This is most likely not coincidence since the medieval legend of the Oldenburger *Wunderhorn* could be seen as an object lesson subject to various interpretations.

According to the legend, in the eleventh century, the Count of Oldenburg, Otto, once became lost while hunting for deer in the woods. In time, he became very thirsty, and when he vocally lamented this, suddenly a young beautiful virgin appeared, who offered him a drink from a golden hunting horn. When he hesitated to drink from it, the virgin promised him that his household and lands would prosper if he did. She warned him that if he did not, division would destroy his dynasty. However, Otto still did not trust her, and after taking the horn, he absconded with it. He later observed that everywhere where that the liquid spilled on his horse during the flight, the horse's hair had withered.[188] Unlike the virgin mentioned in the legend, what was debatable in the confessional age was whether a virgin really represented the Virgin Mary or the Whore of Babylon in disguise. The result of this debate for the Wittelsbachs was a house divided.

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[185] Hoogsteder, 192.

[186] Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Protestantism and Primogeniture in Early Modern Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 12.

[187] Hoogsteder, 192.

[188] The Oldenburg legend can be found in Friedrich Gottschalk, *Die Sagen und Volksmärchen der Deutschen* (Halle, 1814).

CONCLUSION

In contrast to the various branches of the Austrian Habsburg dynasty,[1] this book has demonstrated that the confessionalization process deepened the divide between the major Bavarian and Palatine branches of the Wittelsbach dynasty. Paradoxically, however, Wittelsbach influence on European affairs was at its apex during this era. The respective courts of the two largest Wittelsbach branches became prominent seats of confessional divisions that reflected the greater cultural divide between Protestants and Catholics within Europe. Although this confessional dichotomy within the Wittelsbach dynasty was not a unique phenomenon, the important role of the Wittelsbachs on the international scene made it an especially compelling comparative case study for examining the profound impact of confessionalization on not only Germany, but the rest of Europe as well.

By pursuing a comparative approach towards the two major branches of the Wittelsbach dynasty, this book has answered critical questions about the cultural and political impact of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations on the Wittelsbach dynasty. It has explained how dynastic identity in the confessional age revived late medieval aspirations and models for dynastic hegemony in the Empire, as well as exacerbated tensions over the electoral title. It has analyzed how the process of confessionalization through Wittelsbach patronage of Renaissance humanism from 1550–1650 shaped distinctly confessional court cultures. Concomitantly, it has delineated the degree to which confessional court cultures determined territorial cultures. This work has also underscored the importance of recognizing the concept of cultural confessionalization in elucidating the motivational factors for Wittelsbach deeds from 1550–1650.

Furthermore, in examining the impact of confessionalization on Renaissance court culture in particular, this book has responded to

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[1] Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy 1550–1700*; Charles Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1618–1615*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Habsburg Monarchy: Attributes of Empire 1490–1848* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Thomas Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht: Länder und Untertanen des Hauses Habsburg im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 2003); Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*.

the call for more interdisciplinary approach to understanding court culture.[2] Also, this book has demonstrated the importance of a comparative approach to examining court cultures. Finally, this work has further buttressed the scholarship of those who have emphasized the value of conceptualizing piety in dynastic terms and addressing the importance of both genders in the process of dynastic legitimization through confessionalization.

> …turn, O Germans, turn about to the more gentle studies, which philosophy and eloquence alone can teach you. Consider well that it is not without reason that the Greek and Roman founders of the Empire devoted such great efforts and watchful attentions to these matters and decorated the teachers of those subjects with the highest honors, for they understood that by the power of language and the lessons of wisdom the assemblies of men, cities, religions, the worship of the gods, the most holy morals, and the broadest empires could be preserved and governed.[3]

The famed German Renaissance poet Conrad Celtis spoke these words at an oration at the University of Ingolstadt in August 31, 1492. Although this oration took place in a year that changed world history, Celtis was encouraging Germans to not look outward across the seas, but inward. He hoped that they would reflect upon the powers of Renaissance humanism to harness German energy towards establishing a new 'Golden Age' for the Holy Roman Empire. Celtis praised Wittelsbach patronage of Renaissance humanism at their courts in Heidelberg and Munich, as well as their respective universities at Heidelberg and Ingolstadt. Indeed, the Wittelsbachs heeded Celtis's call, but what Celtis did not foresee was how the forces of dynastic ambitions wedded with the fervor of religious reform would produce waves in the Empire that would shake it to its very core in the confessional age.

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[2] Adamson, 7–41, esp. 8–9.

[3] Conrad Celtis, *A Public Oration* in *The Northern Renaissance*, ed. and trans. Lewis Spitz (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 25–26.

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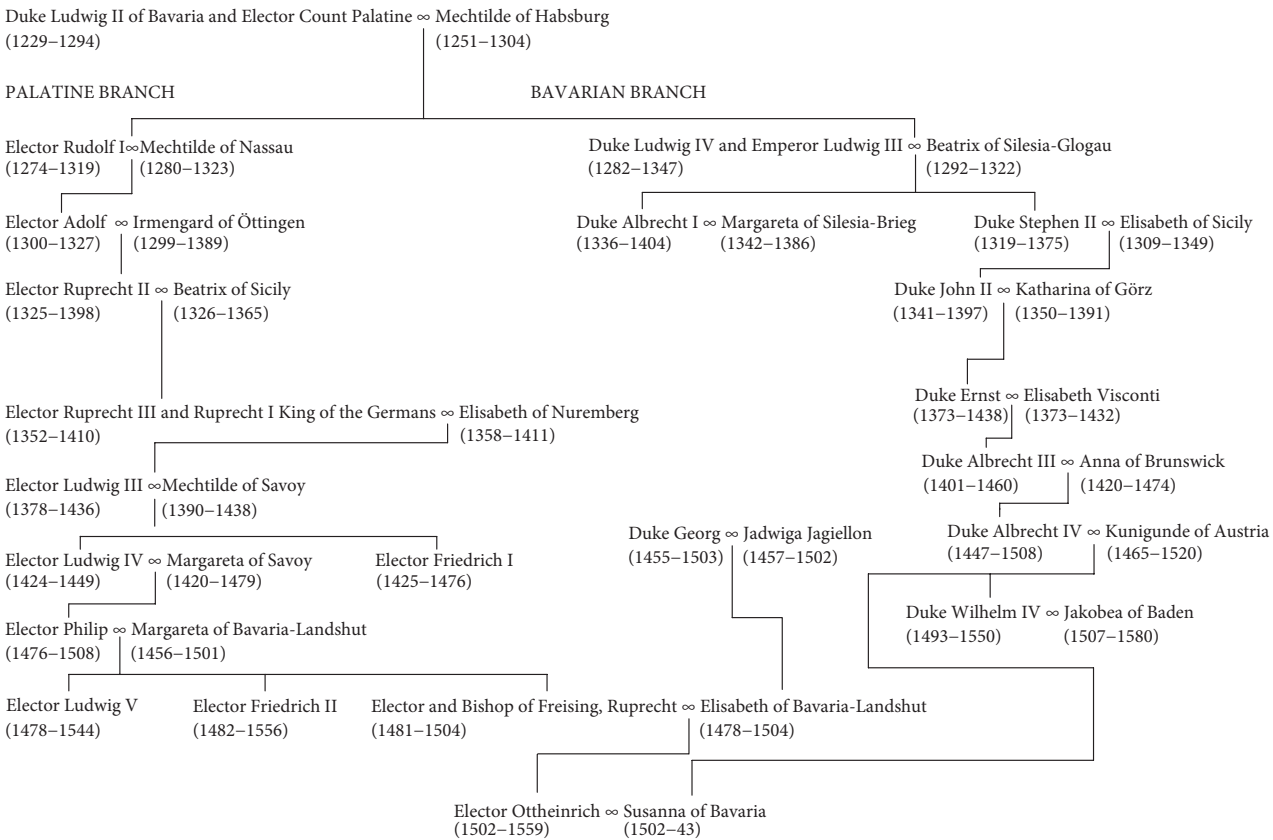
APPENDICES

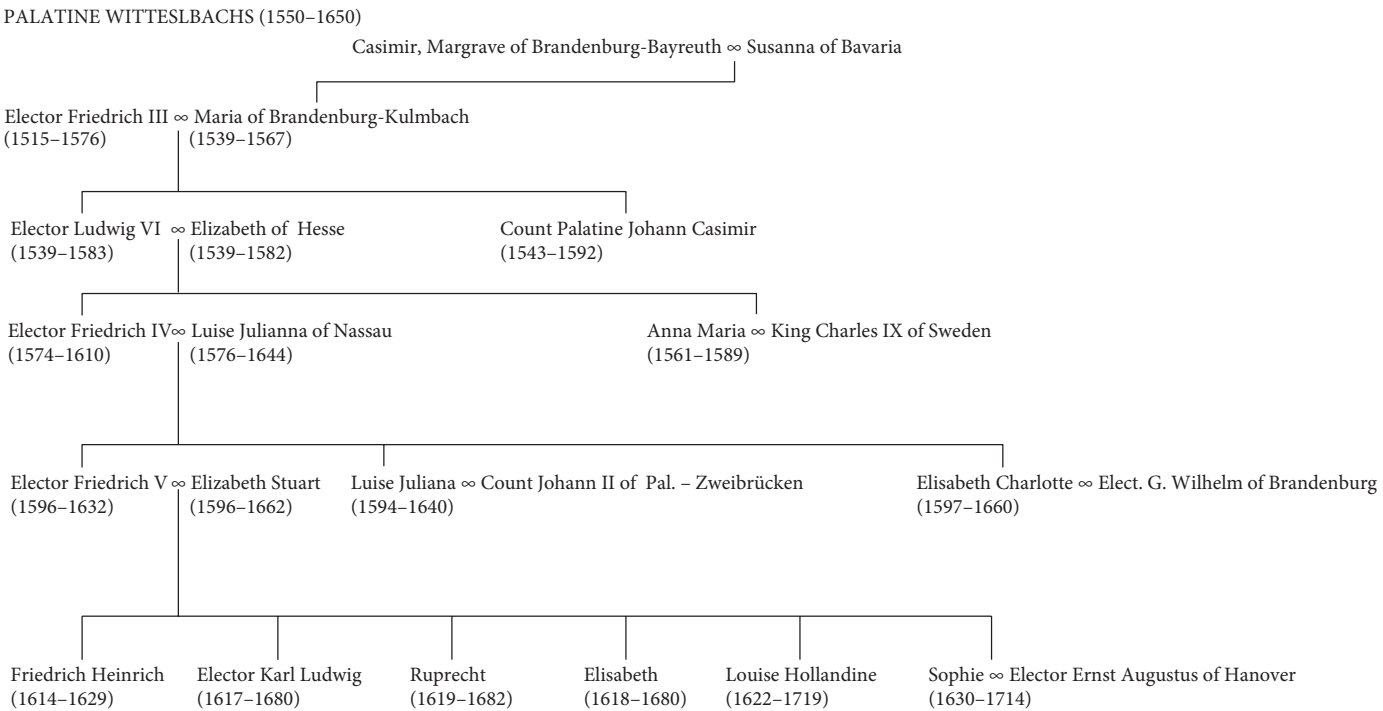
APPENDIX A

WITTELSBACH GENEALOGY (1300–1550)


Duke Ludwig II of Bavaria and Elector Count Palatine ∞ Mechtilde of Habsburg
(1229–1294) (1251–1304)
PALATINE BRANCH
BAVARIAN BRANCH
Elector Rudolf I ∞ Mechtilde of Nassau
(1274–1319) (1280–1323)
Duke Ludwig IV and Emperor Ludwig III ∞ Beatrix of Silesia-Glogau
(1282–1347) (1292–1322)
Elector Adolf ∞ Irmengard of Öttingen
(1300–1327) (1299–1389)
Duke Albrecht I ∞ Margareta of Silesia-Brieg
(1336–1404) (1342–1386)
Duke Stephen II ∞ Elisabeth of Sicily
(1319–1375) (1309–1349)
Elector Ruprecht II ∞ Beatrix of Sicily
(1325–1398) (1326–1365)
Duke John II ∞ Katharina of Görz
(1341–1397) (1350–1391)
Elector Ruprecht III and Ruprecht I King of the Germans ∞ Elisabeth of Nuremberg
(1352–1410) (1358–1411)
Duke Ernst ∞ Elisabeth Visconti
(1373–1438) (1373–1432)
Elector Ludwig III ∞ Mechtilde of Savoy
(1378–1436) (1390–1438)
Duke Albrecht III ∞ Anna of Brunswick
(1401–1460) (1420–1474)
Duke Georg ∞ Jadwiga Jagiellon
(1455–1503) (1457–1502)
Duke Albrecht IV ∞ Kunigunde of Austria
(1447–1508) (1465–1520)
Elector Ludwig IV ∞ Margareta of Savoy
(1424–1449) (1420–1479)
Elector Friedrich I
(1425–1476)
Duke Wilhelm IV ∞ Jakobea of Baden
(1493–1550) (1507–1580)
Elector Philip ∞ Margareta of Bavaria-Landshut
(1476–1508) (1456–1501)
Elector Ludwig V
(1478–1544)
Elector Friedrich II
(1482–1556)
Elector and Bishop of Freising, Ruprecht ∞ Elisabeth of Bavaria-Landshut
(1481–1504) (1478–1504)
Elector Ottheinrich ∞ Susanna of Bavaria
(1502–1559) (1502–43)

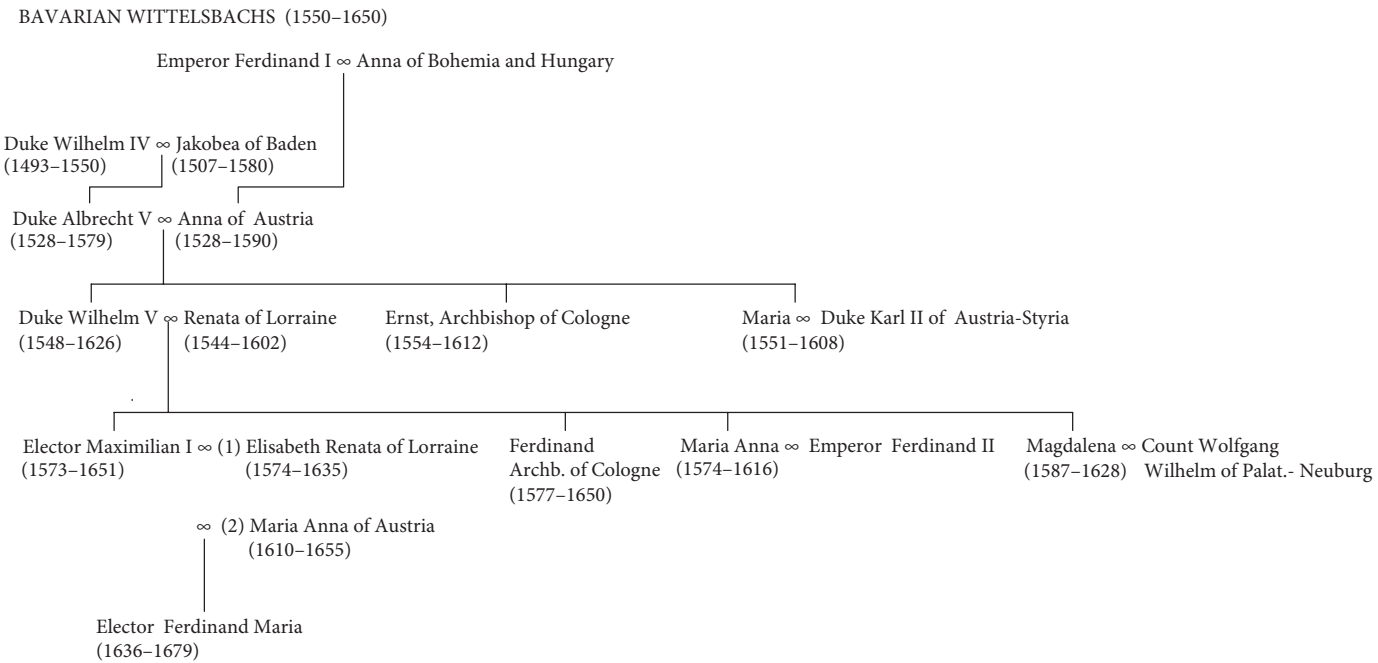
APPENDIX B

PALATINE WITTELSBACHS GENEALOGY (1550–1650)



APPENDIX C

BAVARIAN WITTELSBACHS GENEALOGY (1550–1650)



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